RECIPIENT BEHAVIOUR IN SECURITY COOPERATION RELATIONSHIPS THE USE OF MILITARY ASSISTANCE IN THE EXPANSION OF THE IRAQI ARMED FORCES, 1968-1990

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RECIPIENT BEHAVIOUR IN SECURITY COOPERATION RELATIONSHIPS

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Abstract

This thesis examines how Baathist decision-makers expanded the Iraqi armed forces through security cooperation between 1968 and 1990.

Current literature on military assistance looks primarily at supplier perspectives. When recipients are discussed, they are often portrayed as "satellites" of their military suppliers, who manipulate them into following policies which are detrimental to their national security and economic interests. This thesis questions this theoretical approach by looking at the growth of Iraqi military power between 1968 and 1990. Despite having a diminutive military force at the start of this period, during the 1980s Iraq emerged as the second largest military importer in the world and was able to defeat an adversary three times its size, Iran. By 1990 Iraq possessed the fourth largest military in the world. Earlier studies of Iraq's unprecedented military expansion were conducted before access to Baathist decision-making was available. Consequently, previous accounts focused on supplier policies (Smolansky, 1991; Timmerman, 1992; Jentleson, 1994). Contrary to such accounts, this thesis argues that the expansion of the Iraqi armed forces was the direct result of Baathist policies.

Analysing newly available primary sources, including hundreds of high-level Iraqi government files obtained after the 2003 Gulf War, this thesis reveals the Baathist strategy for acquiring military power through security cooperation. It shows why Iraqi leaders were motivated to expand the armed forces in the first place; how they minimised supplier influence, mitigated defence dependence through diversification and indigenous production, and sustained high-levels of economic growth; and how they used foreign assistance to improve Iraqi military effectiveness. By bringing new details to light on Baathist-era Iraqi military imports policies, this thesis challenges conventional thinking regarding supplier-recipient dynamics and calls for further research into the study of recipient-supplier relationships.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Between 1968 and 1990, the Iraqi armed forces grew from one of the smallest militaries in the Middle East to, by some estimates, the fourth-largest in the world.[1] During the late 1960s and mid-1970s, the Iraqi armed forces struggled to maintain internal security.[2] Once that goal was achieved, however, the goals and ambitions of the Baathist regime expanded. The Iraqi armed forces grew from an estimated 82,000 military personnel, less than 500 main battle tanks, a handful of light armoured fighting vehicles, 215 aircraft, and 20 helicopters in 1968[3] to about 1,000,000 active military personnel, 5,500 main battle tanks, 1,500 armoured infantry fighting vehicles, 689 combat aircraft, and 489 helicopters by 1990.[4] In 1990, Iraq had a larger arsenal of conventional weapons than each of its regional adversaries and competitors, including Egypt, Iran, Israel, Syria, Saudi Arabia, and Turkey.[5] In addition, during the late 1980s, the Iraqi

[1] Lester Brune, *America and the Iraqi Crisis, 1990-1992: Origins and Aftermath* (Claremont, CA: Regina Books, 1993), 46.
[2] For a history of the Iraqi armed forces between 1920 and 1968, see Ibrahim al-Marashi and Sammy Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces: An Analytical History* (London: Routledge, 2008), 13-103. For an account of Iraqi defence expenditures and military imports during the same period, see Timothy Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy: India, Iraq and Israel* (New York, NY: Routledge, 2007), 115-125.
[3] International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), *Military Balance 1968* (London: Brassey's, 1968), 43-44.
[4] IISS, *Military Balance 1990*, 105-106.
[5] IISS, *Military Balance 1990*, 97-122.

military engaged in a series of successful military operations that ended the war against Iran, a country over three times its size in terms of population, economic output, and territorial size.[6] Kenneth Pollack, a scholar who is generally critical of Iraqi and Arab military effectiveness, writes that between 1968 and 1990 "the Iraqi armed forces rose from incompetence to become probably the most potent military ever wielded by an Arab government."[7] The expansion of the Iraqi armed forces and their improved performance on the battlefield was paralleled by other demographic and socioeconomic changes happening in Iraqi society. Between 1968 and 1988 Iraq's population doubled, its economic output grew by over fourteen times and per capita income increased by nearly eight times.[8]

Neither the growth of the Iraqi armed forces nor its achievements on the battlefield could have been possible without external military assistance. Andrew Feinstein estimates that between 1980 and 1990 alone, Iraq spent roughly $50 billion (in constant 2011 U.S. dollars) on the import of conventional weapons and $15 billion on unconventional weapons.[9] Only India imported more weapons than Iraq in the entire period between 1968 and 1990.[10] Although Iraq's indigenous military industry was able to manufacture some weapons (for example, ammunition, light arms, and some modified long-range missiles), it was not able to meet the entire demand of the Iraqi armed forces. Consequently, on a yearly average during the 1980s Iraqi spending on

[6] Iran's population and GDP were roughly three times the same figure of Iraq in 1988. World Bank Data, *Iran and Iraq*, 1988.
[7] Kenneth Pollack, *Arabs at War: Military Effectiveness, 1948-1991* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2004), 552.
[8] In 1968, Iraq's population was roughly 9 million, its GDP was $3.2 billion, and GDP per capita was $344. In 1988, its population, GDP, and per capita income were 17 million, $43 billion, and $2,604, respectively. *World Bank Figures*, 2014.
[9] Andrew Feinstein, *The Shadow World: Inside the Global Arms Trade* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 2011), 398. All dollar values in this research refer to U.S. dollars.
[10] Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), *TIV of Arms Imports to the Top 50 Largest Importers, 1968-1990*. Data generated on July 24, 2013. SIPRI provides all of arms imports figures in 1990 constant dollar values.

arms imports accounted for about one-half of the state's defence budget, which itself made up between one-quarter and one-half of Iraq's GDP.[11] As Andrew Pierre points out, during the 1970s and 1980s, "practically all of Iraq's arms [and] the technology used to manufacture weapons domestically came from abroad."[12]

Foreign military assistance is often viewed as an effective instrument of foreign policy by policymakers and academics. U.S. officials, for example, claim that arms transfers are "an indispensable component" of their foreign policy,[13] while scholars of the international arms trade argue that military aid allows suppliers to exercise political, economic, or military influence over recipient states. William Mott, a scholar who examines U.S. and Soviet military assistance during the Cold War, writes that:

> Not strictly limited to a donor-recipient relationship, the concept of supplier influence is structurally implicit in all arms transfers, [whether they are] grants and gifts, concessionary credits, or cash sales. Every supplier [expects] to exercise palpable influence on recipient behaviours, policies and strategies corresponding to its market share based on the total of military assistance and arms sales to a buyer-recipient.[14]

Given the size of Iraqi arms exports between 1968 and 1990, one would expect that Iraq's military suppliers wielded considerable influence over Baghdad's policies during this time period. Although various Western policymakers and analysts believed that Iraq was a "client-state" of the Soviet Union during the 1970s,[15] the ruling Baathist regime ultimately undertook policies which did not line up with the objectives of its military suppliers. For example, in 1974 the Iraqi government launched a counterinsurgency campaign against Kurdish parties that were

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[11] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 130, table 4.5 and author's calculations.
[12] Andrew Pierre (editor), *Cascade of Arms* (Brookings Institution Press: Washington, DC: 1997), 3.
[13] U.S. Government, *President Reagan's Directive on Arms Transfer Policy* (July 8, 1981.)
[14] William Mott, *Soviet Military Assistance* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 2001), 38.
[15] For examples of authors who argued that the Soviet Union was successful in using military aid to gain influence in the Gulf, see Anne Kelly, "The Soviet Naval Presence during the Iraqi-Kuwaiti Border Dispute: March-April, 1973," *Centre for Naval Analyses: Professional Paper* (1974); Dennis Ross, "Considering Soviet Threats to the Persian Gulf," *International Security*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Fall 1981); and George Lenczowski, "The Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf: An Encircling Strategy," *International Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 2 (Spring 1982.)

previously supported by the Kremlin. During the mid-to-late 1970s it suppressed the Soviet-backed Iraqi Communist Party and publicly condemned Soviet policies in the Arab and Muslim worlds. In 1980 Baghdad ordered the invasion of Iran without first consulting Moscow, in contravention of the 1972 Soviet-Iraqi Treaty, which is discussed in further detail below.[16] Meanwhile, during the 1980s, Washington hoped to gain influence over Iraq by sharing intelligence with Baghdad on Iranian troop movements, selling equipment that could be used for military purposes, and pressing various European governments to provide military aid to Iraq. Despite this, the Baathist regime largely refused to stop its proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, cease using chemical weapons against the Kurds, or curb its support of international terrorism.[17] It is clear that the Iraqi government did not simply follow the policy prescriptions of its military suppliers and instead pursued its own independent political, military, and economic policies.

Much of our contemporary understanding of Iraq during this time period comes from literature published between the mid-1970s and 1990s, which often focused on the interests that supplier states had in "arming Iraq." Such perspectives, however, miss a crucial piece of the puzzle: the Iraqi perspective. My analysis fills that gap by addressing one primary question: to what extent did Iraq's military suppliers have an impact on Baghdad's political, economic, and military policies, and if they did not, how come? Put differently, was Baghdad's security cooperation strategy between 1968 and 1990 primarily driven by Iraqi government decisions, or was it the result of "foreign manipulation" by its military suppliers? The analysis below

[16] Oles Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq: the Soviet Quest for Influence* (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 1991), 37-229.
[17] Evan Resnick, "Strange Bedfellows: U.S Bargaining Behaviour with Allies of Convenience," *International Security*, Volume 35, Number 3 (MIT Press: Winter 2010/11), 144-184; Bruce Jentleson, *With Friends Like These: Reagan, Bush, and Saddam, 1982-1990* (New York and London: W. W. Norton, 1994).

provides a literature review that looks at existing scholarship on Iraq's relationship with foreign military suppliers in the period under study. Thereafter, the substantive chapters follow a thematic approach that address five key sub-questions which are essential to answering the primary research questions above.

1. What was the overall strategic context in which Iraqi leaders pursued military assistance?
2. How did foreign military aid influence Iraq's internal politics and foreign affairs?
3. How did Iraqi leaders mitigate the dependence generated by security cooperation?
4. What role did military imports play in the socio-economic development of Iraq and its trade relations with military suppliers?
5. What was the military impact of security cooperation on the Iraqi armed forces?

LITERATURE REVIEW: CONTENDING PERSPECTIVES ON IRAQI MILITARY IMPORTS, 1968-1990

Numerous accounts have been published about the expansion of the Iraq's armed forces from the perspective of its military suppliers. For example, present scholarship covering the Iraqi military build-up examines the various strategic interests that the Soviet Union,[18] United Kingdom,[19] the

[18] For example, see Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, and Francis Fukuyama, *The Soviet Union and Iraq Since 1968* (Santa Monica: Rand, 1980.)
[19] Chris Cowley, *Guns, Lies, and Spies: How We Armed Iraq* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1992); David Leigh, *Betrayed: the Real Story of the Matrix Churchill Trial* (London: Bloomsbury, 1993); and Davina Miller, *Export or Die: Britain's Defence Trade with Iran and Iraq* (London: Cassell, 1996.)

United States,[20] France,[21] Italy, [22] and more broadly European and North American states[23] had in "arming Iraq." Within available literature, there are broadly three contending perspectives on Iraqi military imports between 1968 and 1990, all of which focus on the supplier side of the arms transfer equation. The first two schools of thought tout the arming of Iraq as a "success story" for its suppliers, i.e. the suppliers created a "pliable state" in Iraq or they were able to benefit commercially by selling arms to Baghdad. The third school of thought argues that Iraq's military build-up was the result of suppliers' "failed policies," i.e. military suppliers tried to create a "puppet regime" in Iraq but instead created a monster.

The first school of thought highlights the political motives that drove suppliers to arm Iraq, such as U.S.-Soviet competition for influence in the Gulf region or as part of a Western effort to contain Iran. In essence this school of thought has argued these military patrons did a good job in controlling the political (or strategic) policies of their client. For example, Anne Kelly argues that arms transfers allowed the Soviet Union to exercise some political leverage over Iraqi foreign policy during the 1970s, most notably in pressuring Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait in 1973.[24] Similarly, during the early 1980s, Dennis Ross wrote that not only has Soviet military assistance provided Moscow "access to the Persian Gulf," but it also enabled the Kremlin "to manipulate local regimes [e.g. Iraq] with threats. In this sense, arms transfers are an integral part of a general Soviet strategy of coercion designed to increase Soviet leverage over

[20] Rick Francona, *Ally to Adversary: An Eyewitness Account of Iraq's Fall from Grace* (Naval Institute Press, 1999) and Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*.
[21] David Styan, *France and Iraq: Oil, Arms and French Policy Making in the Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2006.)
[22] Marco De Andreis, *Italian Arms Export to Iraq and Iran (*Roma: CeSPI, 1988.)
[23] Kenneth Timmerman, *The Death Lobby: How the West Armed* Iraq (London, UK: Bantam, 1992) and Mark Phythian, *Arming Iraq: How the U.S. and Britain Secretly Built Saddam's War Machine* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1997.)
[24] Kelly, "The Soviet Naval Presence," 11.

regional states,"[25] such as Iraq. That the Soviet Union accounted for most of Iraqi military imports during much of the 1970s was often taken as evidence that Baghdad was a "client" of Moscow. For example, Andrew Pierre noted that of all the countries in the Middle East, Iraq was "most within the Soviet orbit" because of the close security cooperation between Baghdad and Moscow during the 1970s.[26] George Lenczowski writes that during the 1970s the Soviet Union used arms transfers to local states as part of a plan to dominate the Persian Gulf "either directly or through the instrumentality of client and satellite local regimes," such as Iraq.[27]

Alongside the "successful arming of Iraq" narrative there is a second school of thought that emphasises the economic (rather than purely political) benefits that incentivised supplier states to export arms to Iraq. During the Iran-Iraq War (1980-1988), Baghdad started to import a greater amount of Western military equipment and training. One of the most cited accounts of Iraqi arms imports in this time period is provided by Kenneth Timmerman. As an investigative journalist, Timmerman provides a myriad of details on the types of military equipment that Iraq imported during the 1970s and 1980s and on the commercial motivations that drove French, Soviet, German, American, British, and other countries' aerospace and defence industries to provide advanced military equipment to Iraq. As with other supplier-focused literature, Timmerman argues that the West "*created* Saddam Hussein step by step, piece by piece."[28] Unlike the politically oriented literature, however, Timmerman argues that supplier policies towards Iraq were driven more by commercial motivations (the "greed of Western businesses," as he calls it) than political objectives.[29]

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[25] Dennis Ross, "Considering Soviet Threats to the Persian Gulf," *International Security*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Fall 1981), 172.
[26] Andrew Pierre, *The Global Politics of Arms Sales* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1982.)
[27] Lenczowski, "The Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf," 310.
[28] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 13. Emphasis added.
[29] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 11- 12.

Timmerman's account, written shortly after the 1990-1991 Gulf War, has served as an important reference point for contemporary academic analyses of Iraqi security cooperation policies during the period between 1968 and 1990,[30] the development of Iraq's military industry,[31] and more general literature on arms transfers.[32] Timmerman's account is generally reliable, although it has a number of limitations. During the 1980s, Timmerman spent six years conducting research, including hundreds of interviews with intelligence analysts, diplomats, government officials, and arms merchants who told him what weapons the Iraqi government was buying and how it was using it. He also cross-referenced information obtained through his interviews with data provided by reputable organizations tracking arms transfers such as the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI) and the Military Balance, published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS).

One limitation to Timmerman's research is that, as he admits in the book, he often does not name his sources due the sensitivity of the subject matter. Furthermore while providing a good overview of the interests of supplier states in arming Iraq, his research is incomplete because it does not adequately explain the strategic motivations that drove Iraqi leaders to acquire foreign military aid and the challenges that they faced in procuring such support. When Timmerman does analyse Iraqi perspectives on foreign military aid, his analysis is quite simplistic. For example, he writes that "from the day the Baath party seized power on July 17, 1968, all of Iraq's 'scientific, industrial, and economic progress' had been devoted to [feeding] Saddam's quest for absolute power. Power that came from the end of a gun."[33] Analysis that

[30] Examples include Resnick, "Strange Bedfellows," and Miller, *Export or Die*.
[31] For example, see Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy,* 115 – 163.
[32] For example, see Ian Anthony, "The Conventional Arms Trade" and Lawrence Freedman and Martin Navias, "Western Europe" in Pierre (editor), *Cascade of Arms*, 15- 41 and 151- 171.
[33] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 494.

personifies Iraqi political-military decision-making in Saddam Hussein ignores the wider historical and strategic context between 1968 and 1990. In fact, during this period Baghdad used the military largely to fight the same battles that previous Iraqi governments used them for in preceding decades (e.g. counterinsurgency against the Kurds, confrontation with Kuwait, involvement in an Arab-Israeli war, and military conflict with Iran). Timmerman also misses the wider strategic context in which Iraqi government officials made their decisions, for example how Baathist leaders viewed regional and international threats.

Another weakness of the currently-available scholarship on Iraq is that it is relatively dated. Most of the aforementioned books that have looked at expansion of the Iraqi armed forces between 1968 and 1990 were published during the 1990s, often just after the first Persian Gulf War. In many accounts that relied on evidence from before the fall of the Saddam regime, one gets the sense that the expansion of the Iraqi armed forces was almost exclusively a function of the policies of suppliers, who were motivated by either political or economic interests. New information has been brought to light regarding Iraqi strategic thinking during the Baathist reign since Timmerman and others have examined Iraqi political-military decision-making during the 1990s. As discussed in further detail below, the 2003 U.S.-led invasion of Iraq has given us data that was not available during the time that Timmerman and his contemporaries were investigating the Baathist regime.

The third school of thought argues that Iraq's patrons were unsuccessful in controlling their client. The basic assumption here does not change from the previous two schools (i.e. it was supplier interests that drove Iraq's military build-up, not decisions made by Iraqi leaders), but the conclusion of the narrative here is slightly different: rather than creating a puppet, this narrative argues, Baghdad's patrons created a monster which they could no longer control.

Unlike Timmerman's account, this school of thought generally overlooks the commercial profits of Iraqi arms imports and instead focuses on the political, or strategic, dimensions. For example, Evan Resnick argues that the United States, despite playing a key role in Iraq's military build-up, was unable to achieve the objectives that justified its strategy (e.g. stopping Baghdad's sponsorship of international terrorism or its weapons and ballistic missile programs).[34] Resnick concludes that the U.S. attempt to transform an adversary into an "ally of convenience… inadvertently resulted... in the creation a stronger adversary… Nearly a decade of virtually unconditional U.S. strategic support dramatically increased Iraq's military power," without providing tangible benefits to U.S. national security.[35]

Similarly, Bruce Jentleson argues that "American policy toward Iraq from 1982 to 1990 failed" because it led to the creation of a powerful rogue state which posed a menace to U.S. allies in the Persian Gulf and broke international norms by using weapons of mass destruction against foreign troops and its own population.[36] Jentleson's account is similar to that of Mark Phythian, who points out that the 1990-1991 Gulf War was the result of a failed Western military aid policy towards Iraq during the 1980s.[37] Authors such as Resnick, Jentleson, and Phythian all argue that the United States did have interests in developing military ties with Iraq, but contrary to the "successful arming of Iraq" narrative, these authors note that Washington "failed" in its bargaining with Baghdad.[38] In other words, the United States and its allies contributed to the arming of Iraq but they were unable to get any policy concessions in return, i.e. they were not able to stop Iraq's support of international terrorism or its development of weapons-of-mass

[34] Resnick, "Strange Bedfellows," 144-184.
[35] Resnick, "Strange Bedfellows," 181.
[36] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 250.
[37] Mark Phythian, *Arming Iraq*.
[38] Resnick, "Strange Bedfellows," 181.

destruction. Similarly, some scholars who have examined Iraqi-Soviet security cooperation during the 1970s and 1980s found that Moscow was unable to exercise significant influence over Baghdad. For example, examining Iraqi-Soviet relations between 1968 and 1990, Oles Smolansky concluded that Moscow derived negligible military, economic, or political benefits from exporting arms to Baghdad.[39] Similarly, Francis Fukuyama found that "Baghdad's dependence on the Soviet Union has been more apparent than real" and that Moscow's "arms transfers have not proven a particularly effective source of influence" over Iraq.[40]

A major shortcoming in understanding Iraqi military power is that all three schools of thought above focus on the supplier side of Baghdad's military build-up. That the policies of the recipient state have not played a leading role in the story of its own military build-up has been, in part, a function of the secrecy of the Baathist regime. As discussed in greater detail below, that veil of secrecy has been lifted over the past few years: the National Defense University's Conflict Records Research Center (CRRC), based in Washington, DC, currently houses an archive containing tens of thousands of Iraqi government documents from the period between 1968 and 2003, which were transferred to the United States following the 2003 Gulf War. A limited number of works based on the archive have been published, most extensively by David Palkki, Kevin Woods, Hal Brands, and Joseph Sassoon.[41] Most of these authors research have looked at topics other than Iraqi military aid policy.[42] For example, Woods and his team's

[39] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 290.
[40] Fukuyama, *Iraq and the Soviet Union since 1968*, v and 75, respectively.
[41] For examples of works based on the Saddam Hussein Collection, see Kevin Woods, David Palkki, Mark Stout, *The Saddam Tapes: The Inner Workings of a Tyrant's Regime, 1978-2001* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011); Hal Brands and David Palkki, "'Conspiring Bastards': Saddam Hussein's Strategic View of the United States," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 36, Issue 3 (June 2012), 625-659; and Joseph Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Baath Party: Inside an Authoritarian Regime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.)
[42] One exception is Joseph Sassoon's article on Iraqi-German cooperation during the 1970s and 1980s, which is discussed more in chapter five. See Joseph Sassoon, "The East German Ministry for State Security and Iraq, 1968–1989," *Journal of Cold War Studies* (Winter 2014), Vol. 16, No. 1, 4-23.

publications have tended to focus on military planning and operations, such as Iraqi decision-making as it pertains to military preparations for the first and second Gulf Wars,[43] the perspective of Iraqi generals during the Iran-Iraq War,[44] and Baghdad's sponsorship of terrorism.[45] Even though Iraq ultimately became well-known for its wide arsenal of conventional and unconventional weapons, no archival research of the collection has been conducted to understand how it actually acquired this arsenal.

The opening of the Saddam Hussein Collection (SHC) changes much of our previous understanding of Baathist political-military decision-making and the Iraqi armed forces between 1968 and 1990. For example, in 2013 Ibrahim al-Marashi, a noted scholar of Iraqi military history, published a book chapter on the Iraqi military in which he noted that his analysis of newly "declassified Iraqi documents revealed a dramatically different picture of Iraqi political-military communications and strategy from 1980 to 2003" than the one presented prior to the opening of the SHC.[46] Meanwhile, analysing the SHC, Caitlin Talmadge concludes that the Iraqi military was "quite effective on the battlefield" during the 1980s as a result of the changes undertaken by the Iraqi government "with respect to promotions, training, command arrangements, and information management in the military."[47] In Talmadge's description, the Iraqi armed forces are presented as a much more flexible learning organization than the one

[43] See Kevin Woods, et al, *Iraqi Perspectives Project: A View of Operation Iraqi Freedom from Saddam's Senior Leadership* (Naval Institute Press, 2006), and Kevin Wood's *The Mother of All Battles: Saddam Hussein's Strategic Plan for the Persian Gulf War* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2008.)
[44] Kevin Woods, Williamson Murray, Elizabeth Nathan, Laila Sabara, Ana Venegas, *Saddam's Generals: Perspectives of the Iran-Iraq War* (Institute for Defense Analyses, 2011.)
[45] Kevin Woods et al., *Saddam Hussein and Terrorism, Emerging Insights from Captured Iraqi Documents*, *Volumes 1-5* (Institute for Defense Analyses, 2007.)
[46] Ibrahim al-Marashi, "Lessons Learned: Civil-military relations during the Iran-Iraq War and their influence on the 1991 Gulf War and 2003 Iraq War," 17, in Nigel Ashton and Bryan Gibson (editors), *The Iran-Iraq War: New International Perspectives* (Routledge, Oxon: 2013.)
[47] Caitlin Talmadge, "The Puzzle of Personalist Performance: Iraqi Battlefield Effectiveness in the Iran-Iraq War," *Security Studies*, Volume 22, Issue 2 (May 8, 2013), 180-221.

presented in Pollack's description of the Iraqi armed forces as largely an ineffective and inflexible organization during much of the 1980s.[48]

Many of the previous attempts to analyse Iraqi decision-making during this period were based primarily on official Iraqi media sources, which were in essence propaganda outlets for the Baathist regime. For example, in 1991 Oles Smolansky published the most comprehensive book on Iraqi-Soviet relations, which was largely based on reading official government pronouncements in Moscow and Baghdad and information that appeared in the Soviet and Iraqi press. As Smolansky points out in the preface to the book, "Since access to relevant Soviet and Iraqi source material remains closed... research had to be conducted primarily in Soviet and Iraqi (as well as general Arab) public sources [which normally] operated under strict government supervision [and] reflected the current party line."[49] The lack of access to internal Iraqi government documents which Smolansky faced in conducting his research in the early 1990s is a gap which my research seeks to address. Similarly, in their political biography of Saddam Hussein, Efraim Karsh and Inari Rautsi cite public Iraqi sources, such as the Baghdad Domestic Service, *Al-Jumhurriya* ("The Republic"), or *Al-Thawra* ("The Revolution"), all of which served as the mouth-pieces of the Iraqi government.[50] Julian Schofield's more recent research is based on his analysis of Iraq's political-military decision-making between 1968 and 1990 on literature that was mostly written during those decades, when there was limited access to Iraqi officials.[51]

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[48] For example, Pollack writes that "the Iraqis simply did not learn from one battle to the next. Each time they committed the same errors they had the last time." See Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 202. Pollack's book was published prior to the opening of the SHC.
[49] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, x-xi.
[50] Efraim Karsh and Inari Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein—a Political Biography* (New York: The Free Press, 1991.)
[51] Julian Schofield, *Militarization and War* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 127-140. Despite having published the book (which was based on his PhD thesis) in 2007, Schofield cites only one article that was written after 2000: Kevin Woods' 2006 article in *Foreign Affairs*, which is based in part on research of the SHC.

While public Iraqi government sources are useful in understanding the ideological underpinnings of Baathist policies, as research of the Hussein archive shows, they do not always reveal the true motivations of the Iraqi government.[52] In fact, while some SHC documents confirm previous assumptions regarding the Iraqi regime, others illustrate that internally the Baathist leadership had a very different perspective or strategy than the one they portrayed outwardly. The lack of understanding of Baathist decision-making between 1968 and 1990 has resulted in the personification of Iraqi policies in the one leader that Western audiences ultimately became familiar with: Saddam Hussein.[53] Consequently, many accounts of Baathist-era Iraqi decision-making have argued that the whole of Iraq was simply governed by one person,[54] who some view as an irrational megalomaniac.[55] My analysis shows a more nuanced and complex account of Iraqi decision-making between 1968 and 1990, whose policies and objectives were more rational and pragmatic than previously thought.

IMPORTANCE OF RESEARCH

Since its invasion of Kuwait in 1990, Iraq has often been on the front page of international news and at the forefront of academic analysis. Nevertheless, the 22-year build-up that preceded this

[52] One of the few Western researchers during this period who was able to gain access to the elite Iraqi policymaking circle was Christine Moss Helms. In the early and mid-1980s Moss conducted an interview with Iraq's then-President Hussein, Tariq Aziz, and other top Baathist officials, and wrote a book in the following year that was sympathetic to the Iraqi government. See Christine Moss Helms and Saddam Hussein, *President Hussein Interviewed by American Researcher* (Baghdad: Dar al-Mamun for Translation and Publishing, 1983), and Christine Moss Helms, *Iraq: Eastern Flank of the Arab World* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1984.)

[53] The list of books written about Saddam Hussein is too long to list in full. Two frequently-cited accounts of Hussein's role in Iraqi decision-making include Jerrold Post and Amatzia Baram's *Saddam is Iraq: Iraq is Saddam* (Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.: USAF Counterproliferation Centre, 2002) and Efraim Karsh and Inari Rautsi's aforementioned political biography of Hussein.

[54] For example, see Jerrold Post and Amatzia Baram, *Saddam Is Iraq: Iraq is Saddam* (Maxwell Air Force Base, Ala.: USAF Counterproliferation Center, 2002.)

[55] This was especially true following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, after which Iraq became known as a "rogue" or "pariah state." For example, see Elaine Sciolino, *The Outlaw State—Saddam Hussein's Quest for Power and the Gulf Crisis* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1991.)

period has too often been ignored. Analysing Iraq's military build-up between 1968 and 1990 can help shed light on three subject areas. First, this research can help improve our understanding of a crucial (though now largely overlooked) part of Iraqi history. As was pointed out above, much of the current analysis of Iraqi history does not adequately capture the perspective of the Baathist leadership. The opening of the SHC presents an opportunity to re-examine why and how Baathist leaders turned Iraq into the military power that it ultimately became during the late 1980s.

Second, my research can shed light on military aid as an instrument of foreign policy and when it can be an effective instrument of policy, a subject that has taken on heightened importance in light of recent events in Egypt. As will be shown in the next chapters, military aid is often perceived by policymakers in supplier states as useful means to exercise leverage over recipients. For example, in testimony in front of the U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee in April 2013, U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry noted that because of U.S.-Egyptian security cooperation, during the Arab Spring "we had Majors who could talk to each other, we had Colonels who could call on the phone [and attempt to influence the Egyptian military's actions.]"[56] Nevertheless, despite attempts by American policymakers to use military aid to call for free-and-democratic elections in Cairo,[57] in December 2013 Egypt's interim government designated the main opposition party, the Muslim Brotherhood, a "terrorist group" and banned it from running in elections.[58] Given the scale of U.S. military aid which was provided to the Egyptian armed forces, it seems counter-intuitive that Washington was not able to exercise more

[56] Remarks by U.S. Secretary John Kerry, quoted in Gregory Kausner, "Opportunities and Challenges in Security Cooperation," *State Department* (April 24, 2013) < http://www.state.gov/t/pm/rls/rm/2013/207939.htm.>
[57] See, for example, John McCain and Lindsey Graham, "Cut off aid to Egypt, Senate leaders say," *Washington Post* (July 12, 2013) and Peter Baker, "A Coup? Or Something Else? $1.5 Billion in U.S. Aid is on the Line," *The New York Times* (July 4, 2013), A11.
[58] See "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood declared 'terrorist group,'" *BBC News* (December 25, 2013.)

influence over political decision-making in post-Arab Spring Egypt. By shedding light on the behaviour of the Iraqi government vis-à-vis military imports, this research argues that supplier states must combine their military aid policies with a pragmatic understanding of the recipient state's politics. Abstract visions, such as the promotion of Western-style democracy, cannot be accomplished without regard for domestic idiosyncrasies.

Finally, this research sheds light on the utility of defence dependence theory, which is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. Defence dependence theory (the predominant school of thought in current scholarship on arms transfers) essentially argues that the import of arms only exacerbates the political, military, and economic problems of a recipient state. Additionally, the theory argues that arms imports allow for a strong supplier to manipulate a weak recipient into following policies which do not serve its interests. As Herbert Wulf, a defence dependence theorist, writes:

> Importing sophisticated arms from industrialized countries is by no means a panacea for the defence of a nation's sovereignty against outside aggression. On the contrary, the importation of modern arms allows for an intensified penetration by metropolitan countries into societies in the underdeveloped world. Instead of the establishment of political and military independence, new forms of dominance and dependence are created.[59]

In addition, Nemat Shafik has argued the attempt of "modern Arab governments… to secure weapons from their erstwhile enemies [has] deepened [their] technological dependence and accelerated the dismantling of the Arabs' own economic and social systems."[60] I will examine whether defence dependence theory's primary assumptions regarding the motivations of recipient-states regarding recipients' behaviour held true in the case of Iraqi military imports between 1968 and 1990. In addition, I will test whether Iraq's primary military suppliers were

[59] Herbert Wulf in Harkavy and Neuman (Editors), *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 246.
[60] Nemat Shafik, "Technology: A Disintegrative Factor in the Arab World," in Michael Hudson (editor), *The Middle East Dilemma: The Politics and Economics of Arab Integration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 260.

able to influence Baghdad's foreign, domestic, economic, and military policies during this period as defence dependence predicts.

TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

Between 1968 and 1990, Soviet and U.S. political-military policies contributed most to the build-up of Iraqi military power.[61] Therefore, it is appropriate to use the terminology regarding military aid used in either of these countries. In U.S. government parlance, military assistance falls under the umbrella of "security cooperation," a term which has been adopted in the academic community[62] and by the media[63] to discuss the exchange of defence articles and services across borders. More specifically, the U.S. Defense Security Cooperation Agency (DSCA) defines security cooperation as,

> All [Defence Department] interactions with foreign defence establishments to build defence relationships that promote specific U.S. security interests, develop allied and friendly military capabilities for self-defence and multinational operations, and provide U.S. forces with peacetime and contingency access to a host nation.[64]

Security cooperation involves activities such as the training, advising, and equipping of foreign militaries, hosting joint military exercises, and sharing military intelligence, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter. In this research, security cooperation will be used to describe any defence relations between a supplier and a recipient that are primarily meant

[61] Both were also the largest military suppliers in this period. U.S. conventional arms accounted for roughly 32.6% and Soviet military exports made up 37.2% of global arms transfers. SIPRI, 1968-1990.
[62] For example, see Derek Reveron, *Exporting Security: International Engagement, Security Cooperation, and the Changing Face of the U.S. Military* (Georgetown University Press, 2010), 104-105.
[63] For an example of the usage of security cooperation in the media, see "US Senate panel backs Ukraine aid, hurdles remain," *Agence France Presse* (March 12, 2014) Accessed: March 15, 2014 < news.yahoo.com/us-lawmakers-split-over-imf-reforms-ukraine-aid-171220159.html >
[64] U.S. Department of Defense, Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management (DISAM), *The Management of Security Cooperation "The Green Book," 31st Edition* (Wright-Patterson Air Force Base, Ohio: 2012), 1. Hereafter this will be referred to by itself unofficial name, *Green Book*.

to enhance the military capabilities of the recipient state and promote either the geopolitical, economic, or military interests of the supplier state. Importantly, security cooperation includes security assistance activities such as Foreign Military Sales (FMS) programs, which often dominate military (and arguably diplomatic) relations between countries.[65] In the United States, FMS, which is administered by the U.S. Defense Department, normally refers to the transfer of defence articles between governments in supplier and recipient states. Separately, Direct Commercial Sales (DCS) includes agreements between a defence company in (rather than the government of) a supplier state, and the government of the recipient state. Unlike FMS, DCS licenses must be approved by the U.S. Department of State. Furthermore, dual-list items (i.e. items which could be used for both civil and military purposes) must also receive a license by the U.S. Commerce Department.[66] The distinction between the various types of exports is important: in the period under study (especially during the 1980s) foreign companies often sold directly dual-list items to the Iraqi government; different U.S. government departments objected to exporting weapons technologies to Iraq, while others support them.[67]

Measured in total monetary value, security assistance forms the largest fraction of security cooperation, the financial burden of which can be shared by the recipient and supplier states in varying degrees. According to the Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management (DISAM)[68], "the purchasing government pays all costs associated with a [foreign

[65] In official U.S. terminology, the term security assistance (previously military assistance) was introduced by the U.S. Congress in 1976 "to include the political and economic aspects, as well as the military aspects, of arms transfers." William Mott, *United States Military Assistance: an Empirical Perspective* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2002), 5.
[66] DISAM, *Green Book*, 3-8.
[67] In particular, in the United States there was a conflict between the U.S. Department of Commerce (which was more lenient about exporting items to Iraq) and the U.S. Department of Defense (which objected to exporting dual-items to Iraq.)
[68] DISAM is a U.S. military institution which "provides professional education, research, and support to advance U.S. foreign policy through security assistance and cooperation." See DISAM's website: www.disam.dsca.mil .

military] sale."[69] Nevertheless, a number of security assistance programs – primarily the Foreign Military Financing Program (FMFP), the Military Assistance Program, and the Economic Support Fund – have either existed in the past or are currently available to provide loans, grants, and other types of economic aid to countries interested in purchasing U.S. defence articles and services.[70] Two examples of recipient states that financed external security assistance programs with their own government funds were Iran during the 1960s and 1970s[71] and Saudi Arabia from the late 1970s onwards.[72] The increase in oil prices following the 1973 OPEC oil-embargo enabled both countries to increase their military imports.

In other cases, the supplier has borne the burden. Since the late 1970s, Israel and Egypt have received an annual average of $3 billion in security assistance paid for by the United States.[73] Both countries received yearly grants through the FMFP.[74] Such programs were driven both by American geopolitical interests in the Middle East and by the security concerns of its local allies. In general, financing of security cooperation-related programs is negotiated on a case-by-case basis and determined by the interests of the countries involved, arguably more so by the interests of the supplier states. In American official terminology, academic journals,

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[69] DISAM, *Green Book*, 1-1 – 1-2.
[70] DISAM, *Green Book*, 1-1 – 1-27.
[71] Under the Shah, Iran paid for the majority of the military assistance program. See U.S. Department of State, "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1964-1968, Volume XXII, Iran," Office of the Historian, Docs. 94-95, 98-100, 108-111, 114, 122, 126, 124, 129.
[72] The U.S. Military Training Mission - Saudi Arabia (USMTM) conducts "advise, train, and equip" missions with the Saudi Ministries of Interior, Defence and Aviation, and National Guard. The FMS cases that fall under USTMSM's mission are funded by the Saudi government.
[73] In recent years, U.S. military aid to Egypt averaged roughly $1.3 billion (between Fiscal Years 2007 and 2009.) Military aid to Israel during that period averaged roughly $2.5 billion. See Jeremy Sharp, "U.S. Foreign Assistance to the Middle East: Historical Background, Recent Trends, and the FY2011 Request," *Congressional Research Service* (June 15, 2010) <http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL32260.pdf>, and U.S. State Department, "Egypt: Security Assistance," *Bureau of Political-Military Affairs* (2008) <http://www.state.gov/t/pm/64694.htm.>
[74] Between 1979 and 2006, Egypt received roughly $34 billion in foreign military financing "to purchase U.S.-manufactured military goods and services." See: "Security Assistance: State and DOD Need to Assess How the Foreign Military Financing Program for Egypt achieves U.S. Foreign Policy and Security Goals," *Government Accountability Office* (May 12, 2006) < www.gao.gov/products/GAO-06-437. >

newspaper articles, and other literature on the subject, security cooperation may alternatively be referred to by different names, sometimes varying slightly in meaning: defence cooperation, military cooperation, military aid, military assistance, arms transfers, or arms trade.[75] Other countries use different terminology for the same concept.[76] In addition, within the field of military aid there is covert assistance, which is normally led by the intelligence apparatus of the supplier state, for example the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) in the United States. Historically, the CIA has played a greater role in secretly propping up Arab regimes than other U.S. agencies which are involved in security cooperation, and more than most other countries in the Middle East.[77] In this research, the various terms that are associated with military aid will be used to highlight a particular element in the transfer of defence articles and services, such as training, advising, maintenance, and other support services. In terms of the expansion of Iraq's armed forces, security cooperation and particularly security assistance -- that is, the import of military hardware, rather than military-military engagements, basing rights, or other forms of security cooperation -- dominated the development of the Iraqi armed forces in the period under study.

[75] For example, offices dealing with foreign military assistance are called the U.S. Office of *Security* Cooperation in Iraq, the U.S. Office of *Defense* Cooperation in the UK, or the U.S. Office of *Military* Cooperation in Egypt. See: <http://iraq.usembassy.gov/armsdealfeb18.html>; <http://london.usembassy.gov/odc/index.html>; <http://alexandria.usconsulate.gov/sections-offices/office-of-military-cooperation.html>.
[76] See Jennifer Moroney et al., *Lessons from U.S. Allies in Security Cooperation with Third Countries: The Cases of Australia, France, and the United Kingdom* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2011.)
[77] For example, see Hugh Wilford, *America's Greatest Game: the CIA's Secret Arabists and the Shaping of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Basic Books, 2013.)

SCOPE AND METHODOLOGY

My research seeks to understand better the expansion of the Iraqi armed forces through security cooperation. In particular, I look at Iraqi history between 1968, when the Baath party took over through a military coup, and 1990, just before Iraq invaded Kuwait. I focus on the policies that Baathist leaders pursued throughout this period in order to establish and exercise sovereignty over Iraq and project Baghdad's power in the region. Furthermore, I look at some of the political and economic challenges that they faced in increasing Iraq's military power through arms imports. Although military power is a core issue of my research, I do not attempt to describe every battle that the Iraqi armed forces participated in. Instead, I focus on the military campaigns or policies that directly relate to the subject of Iraqi military imports.

My methodology involves examining a number of primary sources. Prior to the 2003 invasion, interviews with Baathist officials were limited. Although the Baathist regime was not completely reclusive prior to 1990,[78] information on Iraq's national security strategy was kept as one of the highest state secrets by the Iraqi political leadership. Most historic accounts of Baathist political-military decision-making, therefore, rely mostly on either official Iraqi government propaganda or secondary sources which do not reveal the internal deliberations of Iraqi policymakers during this period. For example, utilizing discourse analysis, Ofra Bengio has looked at Baathist propaganda sources, such as the daily periodical *Al-Thawra*, in order to "follow the political processes" in Iraq.[79] Other authors, as discussed in greater detail in the

[78] A limited number of Western journalists were able to conduct interviews with Iraq's top leadership in the period under study. For example, see Christine Moss Helms and Saddam Hussein, *President Hussein Interviewed by American Researcher* (Dar al-Mamun: Baghdad, 1983) <http://archive.org/details/PresidentHusseinInterviewedByAmericanResearcher > and Helms, *Iraq*.
[79] Ofra Bengio, *Saddam's Word: the Political Discourse in Iraq* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.)

literature review above, have relied on official government sources to understand Baghdad's perspectives on issues of war, diplomacy, and economics.[80]

Following the 2003 Gulf War, Baathist-era Iraqi government documents were captured by the U.S. military and transferred to the CRRC.[81] Today, the CRRC's Saddam Hussein Collection houses nearly 60,000 pages of Iraqi government files (close to 1,000 Iraqi state records), all of which are dated before April 9, 2003, less than one month into the invasion of Iraq.[82] The archive provides an invaluable, first-hand look into how Baathist leaders made national security decisions, including with regard to foreign military aid. It includes audio recordings of high-level meetings of Iraqi political and military officials, official security cooperation agreements for the import of military equipment and cooperation in military production, and intelligence reports detailing the military strength of Iraq's adversaries. It also houses letters sent to foreign leaders (including on issues related to security cooperation), inter-ministerial correspondences, presidential records, personal correspondences, speeches by senior Baathist officials, policy memos, and Iraqi military journals. Although several of the documents from the archive are available online, and a number of reports on Iraqi political-military perspectives prior to 2003 based on the archive have been published,[83] most of the captured Iraqi official documents are only accessible by going to the actual archive in Washington, DC. Between 2012 and 2013, I was granted access to the archive, which I used to answer the key

[80] For example, see Itamar Rabinovich and Haim Shaked's *Middle East Contemporary Survey, 1984-1985, Volume 9; Volumes 1984-1995* (Tel Aviv: Moshe Dayan Centre, 1987), 460 - 486. As with other analysts of Iraq during the 1970s and 1980s, their analysis was based primarily on Iraqi media sources, which were often propaganda outlets for the Baathist regime.
[81] Michael Gordon, "Papers from Iraqi Archive Reveal Conspiratorial Mind-Set of Hussein," *New York Times.* (October 25, 2011), A12.
[82] For the official website of the archive, see "Saddam Hussein Collection," *Conflict Records Research Centre*, National Defence University (NDU), Washington, D.C. < http://crrc.dodlive.mil/collections/sh/.>
[83] For examples, see abovementioned publications by Woods et al., including *The Iraqi Perspectives Project, Saddam's Generals, Saddam Hussein and Terrorism,* and *The Saddam Tapes*.

questions posed above. Collectively, the documents allowed me to gain a profound understanding of the Baathist vision for the Iraqi military power, the challenges that Iraqi leaders faced in procuring conventional and unconventional weapons from abroad, and the strategies that they employed in dealing with their military suppliers. As I found out, some of the documents at the archive, which heretofore have been examined by only a limited number of researchers, call for a modification of some of the previous narratives on Iraqi history.

The archive does, however, have a number of limitations. Given that the documents were seized amidst wide-scale looting and destruction in Iraq following the fall of the Baathist regime in 2003, the archive does not contain all of the official records from the Baathist-era.[84] Furthermore, the objectivity of documents in the archive is variable. Some of the Iraqi government documents that were meant for public consumption exhibit systemic bias. For example, a pamphlet entitled *Cultural Program for Political Guidance*, which was published by the "Department of Political Guidance" within the Ministry of Defence in the late 1980s, calls the outcome of the Iran-Iraq war a "great victory" for the Iraqi armed forces in which the Iraqi military "destroyed the Persian enemy."[85] As will be seen, although the Iran-Iraq War ended in 1988 after five successful Iraqi military operations, the outcome of the war can hardly be described as a "great victory." On the other hand, many internal Iraqi government correspondences and strategy and policy documents are quite realistic and pragmatic. For example, while Baathist officials publicly claimed that the Arab side won the 1973 Arab-Israeli

[84] For example, Iraq's National Library and Archives, a facility which was located directly across the Ministry of Defence in Baghdad, was initially reported to have been completely burned and looted. Other facilities that housed Iraqi government manuscripts were similarly looted in the post-2003 chaos. For a discussion of the impact of looting on Iraqi archives, see Nabil Al-Tikriti, "'Stuff Happens': A Brief Overview of the 2003 Destruction of Iraqi Manuscript Collections, Archives, and Libraries," *Library Trends*, Vol. 55, No. 3 (Winter 2007), 730–745.
[85] SH-MODX-D-000-582, "Document, entitled 'Cultural Program for Political Guidance: Part 3,' regarding Iraqi military strategy and the Baathist regime," 1989.

war, in private they recognised that the Arab forces were in fact roundly defeated by Israel.[86] Additionally, during the late 1970s Baathist leaders were quite realistic about how far behind they were in terms of their indigenous military industry.[87]

Given the potential for inherent bias in some of the archival documents, all Iraqi government documents, whether offering an objective description or exhibiting systematic bias, were cross-referenced against other available evidence, such as previous non-Iraqi research conducted on Iraqi history, journal articles from the time period, and quantitative data on Baghdad's military expenditures, its conventional military balance, and its arms imports.[88] In addition, some of the CRRC archive's unofficial translations of the Arabic text are either of sub-par quality or are incomplete because they are based on inadequate audio-recordings. In such cases, I have used common sense and cross-referenced other works based on the archive (for example, Kevin Woods' *The Saddam Tapes*) in order to better understand the essential meaning behind the discussions. In cases where the meaning of the translation was unclear, I omitted citing the Iraqi government file. Despite these limitations, the documents that are available at the CRRC provide an unprecedented inside look into Iraqi decision-making during the Baathist era and serve as a vital resource in answering the primary research questions posed above.[89]

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[86] For example, see discussion in SH-PDWN-D-000-341, "Saddam Hussein speech at al-Bakr University, entitled 'The Role of the Iraqi Armed Forces in the Arabic-Zionist Conflict,'" June 3, 1978. As will be seen in later chapters, the Arab defeat in 1973 contributed to several changes in the logistical structures of the Iraqi armed forces which proved important during the Iran-Iraq War.

[87] SH-RVCC-D-000-805, "Saddam Hussein speeches regarding the importance of science, technology, and manufacturing, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict," April 1977 to March 1978.

[88] For quantitative data, the IISS series, *The Military Balance*, and SIPRI's on-line arms import database were particularly important.

[89] For a discussion of the CRRC archive, see Lawrence Rubin, "Research Note: Documenting Saddam Hussein's Iraq," *Contemporary Security Policy*, Volume 32, Number 2 (August 2011), 458-466, and Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 1.

It is also worth noting that Stanford University's Hoover Institution houses another set of Baath-era Iraqi government documents.[90] However, there are a number of limitations to the Hoover archive in the context of my research. First and foremost, my research is fundamentally focused on Iraqi foreign policy and national security decision-making, whereas the Hoover Institution's provides a perspective into the internal affairs of the Baathist regime. As Lawrence Rubin notes, "while most of the CRRC's documents on Iraq are related to national security and diplomacy… the Hoover Institution [houses] Ba'ath Party records from 1968-2003 that detail how Saddam ran his dictatorship."[91] Secondly, in discussions with individuals who work at the archive, I was told out that all of the documents are solely available in Arabic and that no full English translations exist. In order to benefit from the potential insights of the Hoover Institute, I carefully consulted the two leading texts based on this archive: Joseph Sassoon's *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party* and Dina Khoury's *Iraq in Wartime: Soldiering, Martyrdom, and Remembrance*.[92]

I also conducted interviews and background discussions with Iraqi political-military officials from the era and experts of Iraqi history. In particular, I benefited from interviewing Falah Hassan, who attained the rank of Colonel in the Iraqi Air Force (IQAF) in the period under study and is currently the commanding general of Iraq's nascent air force, and Major General Najim Abed Al-Jabouri, who served with the IQAF during the Iran-Iraq War. Numerous scholars of Iraq and the Middle East, such as Professors Gawdat Bahgat and Amatzia Baram, as well as scholar-practitioners such as Mowaffak Al-Rubaie (a former Iraqi National Security

[90] For a discussion of the Hoover Institution's archive, see Hugh Eakin, "Iraqi Files in U.S.: Plunder or Rescue?" *New York Times* (July 1, 2008) <www.nytimes.com/2008/07/01/books/01hoov.html?_r=0 >, accessed: April 2, 2015.
[91] Rubin, "Research Note," 459.
[92] Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, and Dina Khoury, *Iraq in Wartime: Soldiering, Martyrdom, and Remembrance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

Adviser) and Sterling Jensen (General David Petraeus' Arabic interpreter during the 2003 Gulf War), also shared their observations of Iraqi history and Baathist-era national security decision-making in the period under study. Their insights were invaluable in framing my understanding of Iraqi government policies in the period under study.

In addition, I consulted open-source transcripts of post-2003 interviews with former Iraqi political-military officials, such as a series of interviews of Saddam Hussein conducted by the FBI in 2004, a series of interviews with five retired senior Iraqi military officers conducted in 2009 by Kevin Woods and his team at the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), and an interview with Tariq Aziz conducted by *Al-Arabiya* in 2012.[93] Although these transcripts added to my understanding of how the Iraqi government formulated its national security decisions during the period between 1968 and 1990, such interviews have a number of limitations. For example, the FBI's interviews with Hussein were conducted following the overthrow of the Baathist regime in 2003, only months before Hussein's execution, and may have been conducted under duress. Similarly, some of the recent interviews with Tariq Aziz, the former Iraqi deputy prime minister and foreign minister, were conducted while Aziz was still a prisoner, sentenced to death, in ill-health, and awaiting execution; it is possible that his answers were skewed in part by the pressure of his conditions. Meanwhile, the IDA's interviews with the five Iraqi generals were conducted several decades following the Iran-Iraq War and thus their recollection of events which happened in a seemingly distant past may have been incomplete.

An important consideration that I have had to make in interpreting both the interviews which I conducted and transcripts of interviews conducted by outside sources was the impact of

[93] Post-2003 interviews with senior Iraqi officials include U.S. Department of Justice, "FBI Interview with Saddam Hussein," Baghdad Operations Centre, Federal Bureau of Investigations (February 15, 2004); "Interview with Tariq Aziz," *Al-Arabiya* (April 21, 2012); and Kevin Woods et al, *Saddam's Generals*, 2011.

time on the recollection of events by retired Iraqi politicians and military officers. As mentioned above, many of the interviews cited in this research were conducted years or decades after certain decisions were made. Unlike the policy papers or strategy documents found in the Saddam Hussein archive, the answers that Iraqi leaders gave after 2003 may have been skewed by a poor recollection of events that happened decades earlier. On the other hand, the time that has passed has, to a certain extent, allowed former Iraqi officials to take a more objective viewpoint towards their understanding of Iraq during the time period. For example, in a 2009 interview retired Iraqi Major General Aladdin Hussein Makki Khammas noted that during the Iran-Iraq War of the 1980s "everyone loved [Saddam Hussein]"[94] because "in a crisis, people rally around their commander. At the time, everyone supported Saddam and thought of him as a national hero."[95] Without the presence of Baathist political officers standing behind their shoulders, Makki and other professional Iraqi military officers who were interviewed decades later have given more objective accounts of Iraqi political and military policies during the 1970s and 1980s.[96] My research thus adds to our understanding of the subject raised above by combining archival research of the SHC and information garnered from more recent interviews with Iraqi political and military officials.

STRUCTURE

Chapter two discusses contending viewpoints on the political, economic, and military dimensions of security cooperation. Although it does not propose a new theory on the international arms trade, it engages elements of the conventional wisdom on military aid which

[94] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 149.
[95] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 118.
[96] See, for example, the various interviews in Woods et al., *Saddam's Generals*.

later chapters address by looking at the expansion of Iraq's armed forces between 1968 and 1990. Chapter three, "The Strategic Context," looks at the various strategic challenges facing Iraqi and its military suppliers, including threat perceptions and the demand for military imports, the link between military aid and a foreign military presence, and the impact of arms transfers on regional arms races and the military balance of power. The fourth chapter, "Supplier Influence," looks at how Iraqi leaders went about procuring arms from abroad and how its suppliers looked to exercise leverage over three distinct areas, including Iraq's foreign policy, security policy and internal affairs.

Chapter five, "Recipient Counter-Dependence," looks at how the Baathist leadership sought and was able to decrease supplier influence by employing a number of counter-dependence strategies. The chapter looks at Iraq's military diversification with its military partners, its investment in indigenous production, its stockpiling of weapons, and other strategies that the Baathist leadership employed during this period to maintain political and military independence from its suppliers. The next chapter, "The Economic Elements of Security Cooperation," looks at a number of economic issues that were related to Iraqi military imports during this period. As the chapter points out, although the transfer of arms is predominantly a political-military activity, it also has salient economic dimensions. The sixth chapter therefore looks at how military imports impacted Iraq's socio-economic development, at how suppliers' defence industries were impacted by their export of arms to Iraq, and how military aid impacted Baghdad's non-military trade relationships with its suppliers.

Chapter seven, "The Military Impact of Arms Transfers," looks at the impact of security cooperation on Iraq's military doctrine, combat effectiveness, and civil-military relations, which more directly pertain to the impact of security assistance on Iraqi military capabilities. All of the

chapters above are divided into three parts each. The first two parts present empirical evidence from 1968-1980 and 1980-1990, respectively. The third part within each chapter provides an overall assessment of the evidence from the entire period. The concluding chapter provides a summary of the study's findings and discusses its broader implications for historians of Iraq, arms transfer scholars, and policymakers in both supplier- and recipient-states.

CHAPTER TWO: CONTENDING PERSPECTIVES ON SECURITY COOPERATION

The concept of "power" holds a central place in international relations.[1] Hans Morgenthau argues that "international politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power."[2] Although the term can be interpreted in multiple ways, scholars generally agree that a state's military capabilities are a critical element of its overall power. John Mearsheimer, a contemporary international relations theorist who argues that "power lies at the heart of international politics,"[3] provides the following definition: "A state's effective power is ultimately a function of its military forces and how they compare with the military forces of rival states."[4] Most states in the international system lack an indigenous military-industrial capability to generate their own military power.

[1] Robert Art and Kenneth Waltz (editors), *The Use of Force: Military Power and International Politics* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009.)
[2] Hans Morgenthau and Kenneth Thompson, *Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace [Brief Edition]* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993), 29.
[3] John Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics* (New York: Norton, 2001), 12.
[4] Mearsheimer, *The Tragedy of Great Power Politics*, 55. Emphasis added.

Consequently, in order to meet their demand for military power, they rely on importing arms and related services (training, maintenance, spare-parts, and so on) from abroad. As Ian Anthony points out:

> With the exception of the United States, Russia, France, the United Kingdom and China, every country in the world depends on imported weapons to equip its armed forces. Even this characterization may be insufficiently sweeping. *All countries import some weapon systems, subsystems and components, a loss of access to which would be disruptive*.[5]

Interestingly, whereas the trade in civilian goods and services has spawned numerous and contending theories and areas of study,[6] the trade in international arms has only produced one comprehensive school of thought: defence dependence theory.[7] In essence, the theory argues that arms transfers "carry the potential for creating, or increasing, dependence on its suppliers of arms."[8] Because of the recipient's dependence on military imports from the supplier, the theory predicts that weak recipient states are likely to become "clients" or "satellites" of their "patrons," serving the interests of their dominant military suppliers.[9] Scholars often define dependence in terms of "vulnerability."[10] As Klaus Knorr notes, "dependence on [military] imports constitutes a vulnerability, because supplies can be disrupted in various contingencies."[11] Erik Pages explains the link between dependence and vulnerability in greater detail:

> [Defence dependence] refers to a situation where reliance on a foreign source raises the potential that one's ability to produce critical weapon systems and/or secure the most advanced technology for the development of a future weapons system could be compromised... In this sense, dependence

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[5] Ian Anthony, "The Conventional Arms Trade," in Pierre (editor), *Cascade of Arms*, 17. Emphasis added.
[6] Some of the disciplines in general economics include international trade theory, international monetary theory, and numerous schools of thought in international development. For a discussion of economic dependence theory, which is linked to defence dependence theory, see Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (Penguin Books, London, UK: 1992), 99-103.
[7] For the most detailed analysis of defence dependence theory, see Christian Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence* (Geneva: UNIDIR; New York: Taylor & Francis, 1988.)
[8] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 1.
[9] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 295-296.
[10] For example, see Lisa Niesz, *Defense Dependence on Foreign High Technology: An Assessment of U.S. Vulnerability* (Arlington, VA: Advanced Research Projects Agency, 1990.)
[11] Klaus Knorr, "Military Strength: Economic and Non-Economic Bases," in Klaus Knorr and Frank Trager (editors), *Economic Issues and National Security* (Lawrence, KS: National Security Education Program by the Regents Press of Kansas, 1977), 187.

> becomes *vulnerability* and affects a relationship when the opportunity costs of foregoing the relationship are high or intolerable.[12]

The basic premise of defence dependence theory has seeped into other areas of international relations, most prominently into the field of alliance politics. In a seminal work on the subject, Glenn Snyder reduces his concept of "alliance dependence"[13] to its military core: military dependence.[14] According to Snyder, military dependence is a function of three factors: a recipient state's demand for arms imports, the extent to which an ally can fill that need through arms transfers, and the alternative ways in which the recipient can meet that need (for example, by allying with and importing arms from another state).[15] Snyder argues that "a state's bargaining power will be greater, the lower its dependence, the looser its commitment, and the greater its interests at stake."[16] Snyder's implicit conclusion is that a supplier state normally has greater bargaining power vis-a-vis a recipient state, given that the latter is dependent on arms from the former.

Policymakers in both supplier and recipient states sometimes share the underlying assumptions of defence dependence theory. For example, Sinnathamby Rajaratnam, a former Foreign Minister of Singapore (primarily a recipient country), has argued that military imports create "a new form of dependence on the great powers, which can exploit the third world's dependence on them for arms to manipulate them, to engineer conflicts between them, and to use them as their proxies in their competition for influence and dominance."[17] Cognizant of this

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[12] Erik Pages, *Responding to Defense Dependence* (Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 1996), 8.
[13] Snyder defines "alliances dependence" as "a function of the net benefit [that a country is] receiving from [its alliance with one state], compared to the benefits available from alternative sources. In these terms, states may be dependent on their allies for a wide range of values in addition to military security- for example, prestige, domestic stability, support for imperial ventures." Glenn Snyder, *Alliance Politics* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1997), 166.
[14] For the purposes of this discussion, "military dependence" and "defence dependence" refer to the same concept.
[15] Snyder, *Alliance Politics*, 167.
[16] Snyder, *Alliance Politics*, 166.
[17] Sinnathamby Rajaratnam, "Speech at 10th Plenary Meeting," *United Nations General Assembly, Thirty-First Session, New York* (September 29, 1976.)

reality, in May 1977 U.S. President Jimmy Carter issued a new policy of "arms restraint" which unilaterally committed the United States to a reduction in total foreign military sales; vowed that the United States "will not be the first supplier to introduce into a region newly developed, advanced weapon systems;" and promised "to promote and advance respect for human rights in recipient countries."[18] The Carter administration viewed arms exports as "an exceptional foreign policy implement, to be used only in instances where it can be clearly demonstrated that the transfer contributes to our national security interests." [19]

Other policymakers take a more pragmatic approach towards the subject: they view arms transfers as a necessary component of a state's foreign policy. For example, President Ronald Reagan adopted a more hawkish policy towards arms transfers than the Carter administration did, although the underlying assumptions regarding the impact of military exports did not change. President Ronald Reagan's 1981 directive on arms transfers argued that "the United States [views] the transfer of conventional arms and other defence articles and services as an essential element of its global defence posture and an indispensable component of its foreign policy."[20] In addition, instead of imposing a unilateral decision to exercise limits on U.S. arms exports as Carter did before him, Reagan's directive stated that "there has been... little or no interest in arms transfer limitations manifested by the Soviet Union… In the absence of such interest, the United States will not jeopardise its own security needs through a program of unilateral restraint."[21]

Although there is a general consensus that military cooperation plays a leading role in global affairs, there is disagreement over the impact that arms transfers have on international

[18] Jimmy Carter, "Presidential Directive-NSC 13: Conventional Arms Transfer Policy," 1977.
[19] Carter, "Presidential Directive-NSC 13," 1977.
[20] Ronald Reagan Presidential Library, "President Reagan's Directive on Arms Transfer Policy," July 8, 1981.
[21] Reagan, "President Reagan's Directive on Arms Transfer Policy," 1981.

security. Policymakers, analysts, historians, military officers, and even journalists who cover the "global arms market" differ in their views of why supplier states embark on security cooperation relationships, why recipient states spend a supposedly inordinate amount of their state budget on purchasing expensive arms, and whether the security which recipients were seeking to increase is actually achieved through the arms purchase or whether it has a differing effect.[22] In particular, there are five areas in which there analysts disagree: (1) the strategic context in which arms transfers decisions are made; (2) the leverage or influence which a supplier can exercise over a recipient through military aid; (3) the ways in which a recipient can mitigate its dependence; (4) the effect of arms transfers on the socioeconomic development of a recipient state; and (5) the impact of security cooperation on the recipient state's military effectiveness, doctrine, and civil-military relations. This chapter surveys these five topics by looking at the various perspectives offered in contemporary literature on security cooperation and the transfer of arms in particular. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the limitations of currently-accepted ideas surrounding arms transfers. Subsequent chapters attempt to answer the core question posed in the introductory chapter by looking at empirical evidence on Iraq through the lens of the five general topics which are discussed below.

I. The Strategic Context

According to SIPRI data, in the period between 1968 and 1990, the top twenty-five recipient states accounted for almost two-thirds (65.76%) of global arms imports. Meanwhile, the top two

[22] For example, whereas arms transfer policies by numerous presidential administrations (including Carter and Reagan) guaranteed that Washington would only send arms to those countries which asked it for aid, Andrew Feinstein points out that during the 1970s and 1980s large defence companies in Western countries (including the United States) placed "agents" in recipients states who bribed local officials so that the local government would request expensive weapons and weapon systems from suppliers. See Feinstein, *The Shadow World*.

recipients during that time – India (6.03%) and Iraq (5.00%) – accounted for over one-tenth of the total. If one looks at the 1980s, both India and Iraq were the highest arms importers: each country accounted for slightly over 7% of global arms imports.[23] The share of Iraqi military imports is staggering given its size. For example, during the 1980s Iraq's population was between 13 and 18 million, and its GDP was about $48 billion. By comparison, during the same period India had a population of about 850 million and a GDP of $326 billion.[24] On the supplier side, during the same time period, China, France, Russia, the United States, and the United Kingdom accounted for 86% of global conventional weapons exports.[25]

Analysts often point out three areas that contribute to the strategic context of arms transfers, that is, the complex set of reasons for why recipients and suppliers are interested in importing or exporting arms to begin with. The first factor is threat perception, which Catrina defines as the "extent to which a government perceives a military threat to [its] national security."[26] Threat perception is a particularly important factor in determining the demand of recipient states for foreign military aid.[27] In a sense, suppliers also have their own threat perception calculations, although their calculations are more closely based around geo-strategic competition. This leads to the second issue. Supplier states often justify military aid as a way through which they can "project power."[28] This is because transfer of weapons is often tied to a supplier staging a foreign military presence on a recipient's territory. A supplier may pressure the recipient to acquiesce to the staging of a foreign military presence, or a recipient government which believes that it does not have the capability to deal with regional threats on its own may

[23] SIPRI, *Global Arms Importers*, 1968 – 1990. Accessed: November 7, 2013.
[24] World Bank, *Iraq and India Population and GDP Numbers*, 2014.
[25] SIPRI, *Global Arms Exporters*, 1968 – 1990. Accessed: November 7, 2013.
[26] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 176.
[27] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 176-179.
[28] Reagan, "President Reagan's Directive on Arms Transfer Policy," 1981.

itself ask for the supplier to provide it with "external protection." The transfers of sophisticated weapon systems may lead to the third factor which arms transfers literature often describes: arms races. By altering the military balance of power, arms transfers may create an ever-increasing demand by both the recipient state and its neighbours for more arms, creating dynamics of its own.

Threat Perceptions

Threat perception – the degree to which a state perceives security dilemmas as posing a direct or indirect challenge to its interests – plays a key role in determining supplier and recipient states' decisions to export or import arms. Three main factors contribute to a recipient state's threat perception: (1) a recipient's perception regarding the political intent of adversaries, (2) the military capacity of its adversaries, and (3) the imminence of the threat, i.e. the time pressure created by the geographic or temporal proximity of a threat.[29] The recipient country's political leaders are usually responsible for determining the first factor (e.g. through diplomatic engagements, by looking at the official policy statements and behaviours of neighbouring countries, and so on), while its military leadership is charged with determining the latter by looking at the conventional military balance, in a process often referred to as "capability analysis."[30] Julian Schofield notes that whereas political elites are interested more in defining 'threats' based on the intentions of other states, military institutions are biased at using "capability analysis [i.e. measuring the coercive capability of a neighbouring country] rather than *intentions* in defining [another country] as a threat."[31] Nevertheless, both sets of actors

[29] Catrina identifies *imminence* as one of the variables contributing to threat perception and recipient defence dependence but defines it in slightly different terms. See Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 176-178.
[30] Schofield, *Militarization and War*, 15-16.
[31] Schofield, *Militarization and War*, 16.

(politician and military leaders) are somewhat sensitive to both military capabilities and political intent.

Supplier states' policies are also impacted by threat perception, but the nature of the threats and the policy options available to deal with them are quite different from those of recipient states. Since suppliers are normally great powers with international interests, threat perception is often determined by issues tied to international threats and global security interests. Suppliers may therefore view military assistance as a way to empower particular recipient states to counter mutual threats in a way that reduces the need for the direct involvement of the supplier's military assets. The Reagan arms transfer policy, for example, stated that in making arms transfer decisions, the United States will consider "the degree to which the transfer responds appropriately to the military threats confronting the recipient [and] whether the transfer will promote *mutual interests* in countering externally supported aggression."[32] One example of the role of mutual threat perceptions in security cooperation relationships was the Lend-Lease Program during World War II. Through the program, the United States lent some $31 billion (in 1940s dollars) worth of military and civilian supplies to the United Kingdom and $11 billion to the Soviet Union, with the goal of defeating a common threat: Nazi Germany and the Axis powers.[33]

Defence dependence theory argues that, given the ambiguous nature of threat perception (i.e. an adversary's political intent may be hard to observe or measure), weak recipient states are manipulated into believing that the suppliers' threat perceptions are their own. In the defence dependence view, over the long-run recipients are said to become proxies of their suppliers.

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[32] Reagan, "President Reagan's Directive on Arms Transfer Policy," 1981.
[33] Robert Gates, "Helping Others Defend Themselves: The Future of U.S. Security Assistance," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2010), 2. Most of that amount was not repaid. See DISAM, *Green Book*, A2-4.

According to Catrina, "dependent arms recipients [may] feel that their decisions regarding a possible security threat are linked to the relationship to their main supplier(s)."[34] Wulf writes that "the unprecedented accumulation of sophisticated weapon systems in the periphery [i.e. amongst developing countries] is of direct interest to arms producers."[35] The notion of suppliers "exporting" their security threats onto recipients is partially supported by empirical data. As Ernie Regehr points out,

> The hundred or more wars since 1945 have been fought almost exclusively in the Third World with weapons built in the industrialised world... The destructiveness and longevity of those wars [in the developing world] has been directly affected by the availability of imported weapons.[36]

Foreign Military Presence / External Protection

Arms transfer scholars often argue that the increase in military imports by a recipient state allows the predominant state to establish a foreign military presence (FMP) on its territory. An FMP may include foreign-operated airfields, naval ports, army bases, missile sites, or intelligence and command structures located within a recipient country.[37] Some suppliers may be motivated to establish FMPs as a way to project power. For example, the 2002 U.S. National Security Strategy noted that to meet "the many security challenges we face, the United States will require bases and stations… as well as temporary access arrangements for the long-distance deployment of U.S. forces."[38] The U.S. Defense Department notes that security cooperation includes all military interactions with foreign security establishments which, promoting other interests, also "provide U.S. forces with *peacetime and contingency access* to host nations."[39] Such "access"

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[34] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 297.
[35] Wulf, "Dependent Militarism," in Harkavy and Neuman (editors), *Arms Transfers in Modern World*, 253.
[36] Ernie Regehr, *Arms Canada: The Deadly Business of Military Exports* (James Lorimer & Company: Toronto, Ontario, 1987), xvii.
[37] Harkavy, *Bases Abroad*, 17.
[38] George W. Bush White House Archives, "President Bush's National Security Strategy," September 2002.
[39] DISAM, *Green Book*, AB-34.

often means an FMP. For example, during the Cold War, the United States sometimes provided military aid to countries "which permitted... access to support or basing facilities in the interest of mutual defence."[40] Robert Harkavy, a noted author on arms transfers who has examined the subject in depth,[41] points out that the countries which provided Moscow with significant military basing access during the Cold War were also major purchasers of Soviet arms; the same correlation between arms transfers and basing was true, albeit to a smaller degree, with U.S. allies.[42]

Not surprisingly, Cold War competition caused American policymakers to perceive any Soviet attempts to acquire basing rights with suspicion. This point was articulated most clearly by Dennis Ross, who during the early 1980s served as the Director of Near East and South Asian affairs in the U.S. National Security Council. In 1981, Ross argued that Soviet arms transfers have "provided the Soviets access to the [Persian Gulf], allowed them to build a military presence in key places in the region, and may in the future offer them a relatively low-cost way to acquire local oil."[43] Ross went on to argue:

> Should the Soviet Union appear to be able to offer 'Mafia-style protection' – assuring a regime, for instance, that it need not worry about an internal insurgency or a neighbouring threat so long as it remains responsive to the Soviets' "legitimate" needs – Gulf regimes may be prepared to cut the appropriate deals with the Soviets.[44]

Decisions involving linkage between arms transfers and foreign military basing are normally raised to a higher (i.e. more political) consideration than more purely commercial arms transfers. According to the DISAM, complex foreign military sales "involving political issues,

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[40] DISAM, *Green Book*, A2-13.
[41] For example see Robert Harkavy, *Great Power Competition for Overseas Bases: The Geopolitics of Access Diplomacy* (Elsevier Science and Technology Books, 1982); *Bases Abroad: the Global Foreign Military Presence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989); and *Strategic Basing and the Great Powers, 1200-2000* (Taylor & Francis, 2007.)
[42] Harkavy, *Bases Abroad,* 340-346.
[43] Dennis Ross, "Soviet Threats to the Persian Gulf," *International Security*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (Fall 1981), 174.
[44] Ross, "Soviet Threats to the Persian Gulf," 174.

such as basing rights," require participation by the Defense Security Cooperation Agency, the Deputy Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, the Geographic Combatant Command, and the Department of State.[45] The flip-side of basing rights is "external protection": some recipient states may also be interested in linking arms imports from suppliers as a way to get a great power to guarantee their security.[46] As Harkavy notes, in a security cooperation relationship,

> There is usually a security commitment provided by the major-power arms supplier, and where the security interests of supplier and recipient are more or less convergent, [a foreign military presence] is very often involved. The big power [i.e. the supplier state] is welcome, or at least accepted, and its protection desired [by the recipient]; hence, the strength of its overall power is deemed to be in the interest of the smaller, dependent power.[47]

Military Balance of Power / Arms Races

A third issue ascribed to arms transfers is the potential impact which arms transfers may have on creating an imbalance of power in a particular region, which could spark a regional arms race. This subject is of particular concern to arms control experts.[48] Analysts often point out that in the short term, the transfer of military equipment, technologies, and training in the international system provides recipient states with the opportunity to increase their military power in order to achieve parity with their adversaries. As Catrina points out, arms transfers are "a way for governments of states not producing the whole range of armaments to acquire the means they consider necessary for self-defence. From this perspective, arms transfers can be seen as contributing to greater equality among states."[49] Reagan's military aid policy noted that

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[45] DISAM, *Green Book*, 5-10.
[46] For example, see America's 2014 military pact with the Philippines. "Philippines, US sign defence pact," *Agence France Presse* (April 28, 2014.)
[47] Harkavy, *Bases Abroad,* 327.
[48] For example, see Geoffrey Kemp, *The Control of the Middle East Arms Race* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1991.)
[49] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 1.

American arms transfers are designed to demonstrate that the United States "will not allow [allies] to be at a military disadvantage."[50] Knorr makes a similar point regarding arms transfers:

> Because complex modern weapons systems are and can be produced only in a small number of states, the military potential of all other countries would be hopelessly outclassed were it not for the international transfer of arms.[51]

Although tilting the regional military balance in favour of a recipient state may be a shared objective of both the supplier and recipient, some scholars argue that in the long term such a policy may inadvertently result in an arms race that harms the recipient state. For example, during the Cold War, the introduction of a new weapon system by one of the superpowers often galvanised the other superpower to take action to arm a neighbouring recipient state. In this way, a recipient's initial attempt to catch up with the military capability of another state often sparked an arms race and perhaps even a war. Schofield has pointed out that Israel's decision to purchase more weapons from France during the 1950s "was stimulated exclusively by the Czech arms deal" between Egypt and the Soviet Union in 1955.[52] Prior to the Soviet armament, Israel and Egypt both had a roughly equal conventional weapons balance: 200 tanks and 50 aircraft each. After the Soviet arms deal with Egypt (which brought roughly 200 Soviet T-34/85 tanks and 80 Soviet MiG fighters), Israel increased its military imports from France, buying an additional 200 AMX-13 and Sherman tanks and 72 French aircraft which were obtained "to defeat the Egyptian MiG-15s."[53] From an Egyptian perspective, initially Soviet military aid tilted the military balance in its favour. However, it also sparked an arms race with Israel, in which over time the initial gap in military power widened, putting Egypt in a worse

[50] Reagan, "President Reagan's Directive on Arms Transfer Policy," 1981.
[51] Knorr, "Military Strength," in Knorr and Trager (editors), *Economic Issues and National Security*, 186.
[52] Schofield, *Militarization and War,* 71.
[53] Schofield, *Militarization and War,* 72 and Jon Glassman, *Arms for the Arabs: The Soviet Union and War in the Middle East* (Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore and London, 1975), 10-12.

position than that from which it had begun, and ultimately resulted in the 1967 and 1973 Arab-Israeli wars in which Egypt was defeated. Cognizant of the potential of arms transfers in creating an arms race amongst recipient states, the Clinton administration's post-Cold War military-aid policy noted that U.S. arms transfer decisions will take into account whether the "introduction of a [weapons] system… foster increased tension or contribute to an arms race."[54]

II. Supplier Influence

Possibly the most important area of scholarly debate is over the extent to which suppliers can expect to wield "influence" through military assistance.[55] According to William Mott, during the Cold War the primary criteria by which supplier states measured the success or failure of military aid was by the extent to which arms transfers enhanced their "influence [or ability] to elicit a recipient's cooperative action, supportive policy, and conformity with rules of behaviour established by the donor."[56] Authors often point out that supplier influence is closely related to the degree to which a recipient is dependent on arms from that state.[57] Recipient dependence itself arises because, as Knorr points out, from the vantage point of a recipient state "it is not easy, for political [and] technical reasons, to switch to an alternative import source."[58] Firstly, a weapons-producer may force a recipient state to enter into an exclusive deal to avoid side deals

[54] William Clinton, "White House Fact Sheet on Criteria for Decision-Making on Unites States Arms Exports," February 17, 1994.
[55] Defining a broad concept such as "influence" is beyond the scope of this research. For a broad discussion of the nature of influence, and the role that arms transfers play in recipient-recipient relations, see Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 1-9.
[56] Mott, *Soviet Military Assistance*, 43.
[57] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 155-159.
[58] Knorr, "Military Strength," in Knorr and Trager (editors), *Economic Issues and National Security*, 187.

with the supplier's political adversaries or competitors. This continues to be true in the post-Cold War era, when the world's major military suppliers (the United States, Russia, and China) continue to be competitors. Consequently, it is in the interest of these suppliers to make sure that the recipient maintains a relationship of exclusivity with them. Secondly, the export of whole weapons systems can create a relationship in which recipient states must continually return to the original supplier for follow-on maintenance, spare parts, and additional training, as alternative suppliers may not have the technologies necessary to provide the required military aid; weapons systems can be quite proprietary. The table below provides William Mott's model for understanding the link between recipient dependence and the potential for supplier influence.

Supplier Influence Model[59]

Suppliers	% of Recipient's Total Military Imports	Influence
Sole	90%-100%	High supplier influence over recipient behaviours, policies, and strategies; suppliers exert control through persuasion, threats, and rewards without military intervention.
Predominant	65%-89%	Potential for moderate, sporadic donor influence over some of the recipient's behaviours and policies.
Competitive	50%-64%	Low supplier influence, but potential for a larger share of a recipient's military acquisitions.
Alternative	10%-49%	Negligible supplier influence.
Negligible	Less than 10%	No donor influence.

Policymakers and some academics are generally biased towards believing that military aid is an effective instrument by which a supplier may exercise influence over a recipient's foreign policy, security policy, and internal affairs. However, many academics who have tested out empirically whether this is the case have found this to be untrue. Consequently, there is still

[59] Adapted from William Mott, *United States Military Assistance*, 79-80.

much controversy over the extent to which arms transfers actually allow a supplier to exercise influence. This section looks at some of the primary debates about the subject.

Foreign Policy

According to Walter Barrows, a recipient state's dependence on a supplier's weapons, maintenance services, and training "elicits at least a caution if not outright realignment in the recipient's foreign policy dealings with its military patron."[60] For example, analysing U.S.-Pakistani security cooperation, Thazha Varkey Paul writes that because Washington provided military aid to Islamabad during the 1970s and 1980s on a consistent basis, Pakistan invariably took a position in alignment with the United States when issues of high importance to U.S. interests rose up.[61] During the 1980s Pakistan supported American efforts to undermine the Soviet military campaign in Afghanistan, which contributed to the 'bleeding out' of the Soviet Union. Paul also argues that arms transfers to Pakistan allowed the United States to gain a strategic foothold in South Asia, especially since India (the other major power in the region) was primarily dependent on arms from the Soviet Union.[62] Policymakers who promote security cooperation are biased towards believing that foreign military aid will allow the supplier to increase its influence vis-à-vis a particular country or region. In addition, some analysts argue that arms transfers lead recipient states to become embroiled in unwanted military conflicts that are indirectly tied to the interests of their suppliers.[63]

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[60] Walter Barrows quoted in Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence,* 297.
[61] Thazha Varkey Paul, "Influence through Arms Transfers: Lessons from the US-Pakistani Relationship," *Asia Survey*, Vol. 32, No. 12 (December 1992.)
[62] Roughly three-quarters of India's arms imports between during the 1970s and 1980s came from the Soviet Union. SIPRI, *Indian Military Imports*, 1968-1990.
[63] For example, see David Kinsella, "Arms Transfer Dependence and Foreign Policy Conflict," *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1998), 7-23.

Nevertheless, other authors argue that the opposite is the case: that, counter-intuitively, a recipient is able to exercise influence over the supplier through arms transfers. For example, Efraim Karsh argues that the inherent power asymmetry in the arms-transfer relationship "does not necessarily work to the advantage of the arms donor, as is commonly assumed, but rather to the benefit of the arms recipient."[64] Examining U.S. security cooperation relations with small allies during the Cold War, Robert Keohane came up with the concept of the "big influence of small allies."[65] According to Keohane, small U.S. partners "have not only been able to act independently; they have also been able to use alliances to influence American policy and to alter American policy perspectives. Even some of America's most dependent and weakest allies have been able to achieve significant changes in United States policy."[66] As Keohane explains,

> Allied influence on the United States is… particularly high where the United States maintains large-scale military installations and conducts substantial aid programs, for in such situations American agencies become dependent on the small ally's consent to their continued presence within its boundaries.[67]

A number of authors have conducted comparative studies to test whether military and economic aid results in supplier-recipient foreign policy convergence in both peace-time and war-time. Most of these did not yield conclusive evidence that supplier states wield influence over recipients' foreign policy.[68] Similarly, looking at Soviet arms transfers to Iraq, Syria, and other Arab countries prior to and during various armed conflicts, Karsh found that Moscow was unable to prevent recipient states from going to war or significantly impact their decision-making despite the large magnitude of Soviet military aid.[69] Karsh concludes that "if a state perceives

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[64] Efraim Karsh, "Influence Through Arms Supplies: The Soviet Experience in the Middle East," *Conflict Quarterly* (Winter 1986), 53.
[65] Robert Keohane, "The Big Influence of Small Allies," *Foreign Policy*, No. 2 (Spring 1971.)
[66] Keohane, "The Big Influence of Small Allies," 162.
[67] Keohane, "The Big Influence of Small Allies," 165.
[68] For example, see include Bruce Moon, "The Foreign Policy of the Dependent State," *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (September 1983), 315-340.
[69] Karsh, "Influence Through Arms Supplies," 48-53.

certain interests as vital, it will be most unwilling to compromise them and will tend to reject any pressures designed to prevent it from carrying out its course of action."[70]

Security Policy

Unlike the debate over foreign policy (which looks at broader areas such as diplomacy and trade relations), the debate over security policy concerns a supplier's ability to influence a recipient's military decisions: for example, how it sets up its Ministry of Defence, how it decides to train its military forces, and how it formulates its decisions to go to war. Certainly, supplier states try to influence a recipient's security policy. For example, under the 1972 Soviet-Iraqi Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, Moscow promised to provide greater amounts of weapons and training to Iraq, while Baghdad promised to consult the Kremlin before going to war.[71] In addition, analysts often point out that a supplier may exercise greater amount of influence over a recipient's security policy when the latter is engaged in war. This happens because, as Mott explains, "when a recipient is in conflict, the urgent demands for continuing flows of ammunition, parts, and replacement for battle losses intensify its dependence [on its military suppliers.]"[72] Catrina explains the subject in the following terms:

> Evidently one dimension of foreign affairs – security policy – is directly influenced by recipient dependence. Dependent arms recipients will feel that their decisions regarding a possible security threat are linked to the relationship to their main supplier(s). Recipients' need for arms supplies, training, and support may in some situations provide the major suppliers with something like a veto over the continuation of war even if they may have found themselves unable to prevent its outbreak. Viewed from the powerful states, this may be a tool for crisis control and containment. From the recipient's view it is a limit to its autonomy.[73]

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[70] Karsh, "Influence Through Arms Supplies," 54.
[71] As will be seen in later chapters, Iraq broke this promise when it invaded Iran in 1980 without consulting Moscow first.
[72] Mott, *United States Military Assistance*, 8.
[73] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 297.

In peacetime, a supplier state may influence a recipient's security policy through military engagements: i.e. contacts between the military elites of a supplier state and political and military officials, defence industry representatives, and civilians within a recipient state.[74] According to policymakers in supplier states, intelligence sharing between the national security apparatuses of both the supplier and the recipient, foreign military and civilian advisors working on security cooperation within a recipient state allow a supplier to have an impact over political-military decision-making of the recipient state. For example, Andrew Michta writes that during the Cold War "the Soviet military stationed in Eastern Europe [served] as the locus of Soviet power in relation to satellite military establishments, as well as the direct conduit of Soviet influence in the region."[75] More recently, the 2002 U.S. National Security Strategy, meanwhile, stated that "the presence of American forces overseas is one of the most profound symbols of the U.S. commitment to allies and friends."[76] Some academics agree that the presence of supplier troops and advisors in recipient states enhance supplier influence over a recipient's security policies. For example, Mott writes that during the Cold War,

> Large, sophisticated missions of military advisors and technicians in the recipient country were both instruments of influence and operational commitments to achieve the aims of a donor-recipient relationship… All major donors also trained recipient military personnel in donor military schools to develop influence on recipient policy and strategy.[77]

On the other hand, some scholars contend that in the long-run, the presence of foreign military trainers could surprisingly have the opposite effect, actually limiting the control the supplier may exert over the recipient. As Catrina writes, a large influx of a supplier's military and civilian personnel "for military construction, training, management, and technical support…

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[74] Derek Reveron, *Exporting Security: International Engagement, Security Cooperation, and the Changing Face of the U.S. Military* (Georgetown University Press, 2010), 31-54.
[75] Andrew Michta, *Red Eagle: The Army in Polish Politics, 1944-1988* (Hoover Press, 1990), 3.
[76] Bush, "National Security Strategy of the United States," 2002.
[77] Mott, *Soviet Military Assistance*, 32.

may antagonise the population and thus cause problems for the recipient government."[78] This was arguably the case with Iranian-American security cooperation during the 1970s. Between 1972 and 1978, Iranian investment in conventional arms imports from the United States amounted to an estimated $19.5 billion.[79] This required the stationing of an estimated 20,000 American military personnel in Iran; furthermore, roughly 150,000 American contractors supported these contracts from abroad, at times coming into Iran to work on maintenance and training.[80] Because many of the arms deals during that period were agreed upon as a result of personal relationships rather than strategic interests,[81] the military build-up created internal discontent within Iran at the perceived corruption of the Shah's regime, while other segments of Iranian society were also angry with the idea that Iran was becoming completely dependent on another country for its arms and training.[82] These societal perceptions contributed, at least in part, to the overthrow of the Shah in 1979, which resulted in the expulsion of American military advisors and curtailed U.S. efforts to influence Iran through security cooperation. Therefore, the presence of military advisers can be a double-edged sword: it can offer greater leverage to the supplier, but it can also run the risk of too heavily trespassing upon the sentiments of the local population and leadership, paving the way for a future severance of ties.

Internal Affairs

According to some arms transfer scholars, supplier states normally try to influence at least two areas of a recipient state's internal affairs: its domestic politics and its treatment of specific

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[78] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 75.
[79] The figures are 1990 prices. See Sanford Gottlieb, *Defense Addiction: Can America Kick the Habit?* (Boulder; Oxford: Westview, 1997), 36. The figure corresponds with the amount given by SIPRI for the same time period ($19.45 billion.)
[80] Freedman, "British Foreign Policy to 1985," 389.
[81] Anthony Sampson, *The Arms Bazaar: from Lebanon to Lockheed* (New York: Viking Press, 1977), 241-259.
[82] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 224.

factions (often ethnic or religious groups) within the recipient state. With regard to the former, a supplier may use military aid to pressure a regime in a recipient state to allow a certain political party that has a similar ideological outlook to participate in the recipient's governing structure. As Catrina writes,

> Political parties with particularly close links to a foreign country may perhaps expect to have their role enhanced if their home country is dependent on that foreign country. For example, Communist parties in arms recipient countries might expect some benefits from the dependence of their home country on Socialist arms suppliers, even if their home state is and remains nonaligned.[83]

A supplier may also utilise arms transfers to promote human rights, either in general (for ideological reasons) or for particular minority groups which are supported by the supplier (for pragmatic reasons). During the late 1970s, Carter's arms transfer policy stated that "the United States will give continued emphasis to formulating and conducting our security assistance programs in a manner which will promote and advance respect for human rights in recipient countries."[84] Similarly, the Soviet Union justified its arms transfers to Egypt during the Cold War by stating that "millions of simple Egyptians are eager to defend the freedom… of Arab countries."[85] The linkage between military aid and human rights (or "freedom," as the issue was framed by Soviet commentators) was reiterated after the end of the Cold War by the United States, when the Clinton White House decided that all arms transfers' decisions will take into account "the human rights... record of the recipient."[86]

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[83] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 303.
[84] Carter, "Presidential Directive-NSC 13," 1977.
[85] Soviet commentator Igor Belyayev, quoted in Jon Glassman, *Arms for the Arabs*, 72.
[86] Clinton, "White House Fact Sheet on Criteria for Decision-Making on United States Arms Exports," February 17, 1994. Similarly, the U.S. Foreign Assistance act notes that "the Secretary of State shall transmit to the Congress… a full and complete report, prepared with the assistance of the Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, with respect to practices regarding the observance of and respect for internationally recognised human rights in each country proposed as a recipient of SA [security assistance]." See DISAM, *Green Book*, 2-13.

III. Recipient Counter-Dependence

Recipient states which are sensitive to attempts by the supplier to influence their foreign or internal affairs may undertake several counter-dependence strategies designed to mitigate their dependence. Firstly, they may diversify their military suppliers. This may be a difficult policy to pursue due to the paucity of supplier countries and the technical difficulties of operating weapon systems from different countries. A second, more long-term policy includes investing in the recipient's defence-industry to allow it to generate its own military powers. Such a policy may be costly because it requires the import of heavy-industry products from abroad and the incorporation of technological knowledge from advanced, industrialised states. This section discusses these and other recipient counter-dependence strategies.

Diversification of Military Suppliers

Diversification of military suppliers can benefit the recipient in two different ways: (1) it can allow for the continued flow of arms and training, which is crucial if one of the suppliers decides, for political, military, or economic reasons, to cut off military aid to the recipient state; (2) it can create competition amongst military suppliers and thereby improve a recipient's bargaining power, thereby potentially leading to lower costs of weapons systems, more generous loan terms, and better-quality arms. The first point is important for governments who are interested in greater independence in their decision-making, in particular those involved in an ongoing dispute or armed conflict. According to Edward Kolodziej, during the 1970s a number of recipient states began to "diversify their supply source to maximise their strategic and diplomatic independence."[87] Their decision to diversify was caused in part by the fact that their

[87] Edward Kolodziej, "Arms Transfers and International Politics: the Interdependence of Independence," in Neuman and Harkavy (editors), *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 13.

predominant military suppliers proved to be unreliable: they were either too slow to deliver promised military supplies; they delivered the weapons but they were of inferior quality; or the suppliers imposed an arms embargo. Having numerous military suppliers allowed recipient states to exercise greater independence in their decision-making, in particular with regards to their security policies.

The second benefit of military diversification -- supplier competition -- can often be just as important as the first to a recipient state. It does not necessarily matter whether the recipient actually finds another major alternative donor: just by creating a credible threat it might, the recipient can gain leverage. A supplier which is afraid of losing a recipient to another supplier may be more willing to deliver better-quality arms, to speed up the delivery of weapons, or to lower the costs of arms transfers in order to entice the recipient to stay in the security cooperation relationship.[88] Mott argues that by the late 1970s many recipient states had become proficient in playing suppliers against one-another: "Diversification across alternative suppliers became a common recipient strategy for avoiding dependence and bloc alignments, and for converting supplier influence into recipient leverage [during the Cold War.]"[89] More recently, in 2014 Egypt's interim President, Field Marshal al-Sisi, travelled to Russia to negotiate a $2 billion arms deal soon after Washington (which was Egypt's primary military supplier for nearly three decades leading up to that point) threatened to cut off military aid to Cairo.[90] Despite the political benefits of military diversification, there are numerous potential downsides. The first issue is that it is much easier, in terms of logistics and maintenance, to create a military force that consists of inventory from one country. According to Kemp, "the costs [of diversification] can

[88] For example, see discussion in Keohane, "The Big Influence of Small Allies," 170.
[89] Mott, *Soviet Military Assistance*, 36.
[90] "Putin backs Sisi 'bid for Egypt presidency,'" *BBC News* (February 13, 2014.)

be measured in terms of inefficiency since the multiplication of different systems increases logistical-support requirement."[91] Furthermore, suppliers often speed up deliveries of weapons and training to loyal recipient states (i.e. those that have only one predominant military supplier), an opportunity which recipient states engaged in supplier diversification may forego.

Indigenous Production

Literature on arms transfers often argues that only way in which states can ensure their survival in the international system is to develop an indigenous military-industry. Ethan Kapstein points out that "all other things being equal, states would prefer to be autarkic in the production and deployment of advanced weaponry."[92] Michael Moodie explains why most recipient countries seek to develop an indigenous military-industry in the following terms:

> The incentives generating the drive toward increased domestic defence production in the Third World include security and economic and political concerns. Underlying all other motives, however, is the desire to eliminate, or at least greatly reduce, dependence on industrial countries for arms deemed vital for national security. Indigenous defence production is an expression of self-reliance, and thus, it is a means of reducing a state's vulnerability to military and political pressures during times of crisis.[93]

Despite the challenges inherent in building and sustaining a robust military industry, during the latter part of the Cold War there were an estimated 28 countries that produced major weapon systems, and somewhat more countries that created small arms and ammunition.[94] However, even recipients developing indigenous military production are often still dependent in part on outside support. Moodie describes the seven broad stages by which a recipient state

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[91] Kemp, "Arms Transfers and the 'Back-End' Problem in Developing Countries," in *Arms Transfers in the Modern World,* 272.
[92] Ethan Kapstein, "Conclusions and Policy Recommendations," in Ethan Kapstein (editor), *Global Arms Production: Policy Dilemmas for the 1990s* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1992), 240.
[93] Michael Moodie, "Defense Industries in the Third World: Problems and Promises," in Harkavy and Neuman, *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 298.
[94] Stephanie Neuman, "Arms Transfers, Military Assistance, and Defense Industries: Socioeconomic Burden or Opportunity?" in Harkavy and Neuman, *The Arms Trade*, 38.

could theoretically build an indigenous military industry, all of which are costly in terms of actual labour and the amount of economic investment.[95] The early stages are normally the most arduous, often requiring negotiation with outside suppliers for licenses to establish the domestic assembly of the sought-after weapon systems. Such licenses are normally required by both governments and defence companies in supplier states for strategic reasons (to make sure that advanced weapons technologies do not get into the wrong hands) and technological reasons (to make sure that defence companies from other countries do not acquire sensitive industrial secrets held by the supplier). Nevertheless, if a recipient state is able to obtain a blue-print for manufacturing weapons and weapon systems, it can benefit considerably over the long-run by possibly being able to manufacture such a weapon on its own.[96]

Ironically, countries wishing to establish an autarkic defence industry (i.e. one independent of foreign aid), often must – at least in the beginning – continue to import military aid, albeit in the form of technological know-how rather fully-formed weapon systems. Consequently, some authors contend that licensed co-production does not completely mitigate a recipient's defence dependence. According to Wulf, in the long run, "the independent decision-making in the military sector which is hoped for, and expected through indigenous arms production, cannot be attained since local production is crucially reliant on the delivery of technology and personnel from abroad."[97] Furthermore, according to Kemp, "as a country reaches the point of becoming relatively self-sufficient in operating a given weapon system, a more modern weapon [may be] procured [by its adversary or the original supplier state], which

[95] Michael Moodie, "Defense Industries in the Third World: Problems and Promises," in *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 299.
[96] In practice this may prove more difficult. See William Keller, "Global Defense Business: A Policy Context for the 1990s," in Kapstein (editor), *Global Arms Production,* 82.
[97] Wulf, "Dependent Militarism," in Harkavy and Neuman (editors), *Arms Transfers in Modern World*, 249.

requires a new series of dependencies upon the supplier."[98] Creating an indigenous military industry is a counter-dependency strategy that some recipients have used to some extent, but there are very few examples of recipient states that have been able to develop an indigenous military industry that satisfies all the needs of their armed forces.

Other: Less-Costly Weapons, Diplomacy, and Stockpiling

Recipients hoping to mitigate defence dependence may embark on a number of other counter-dependence strategies. The first is "down-shifting": placing a greater emphasis on cruder but indigenous arms to allow eschewing more advanced weapon systems. As Catrina points out, one important strategy in mitigating recipient dependence is "the adaptation of military planning, tactics, doctrine, and strategy to relatively less-costly weapons which could more easily be produced domestically."[99] It may seem counter-intuitive that a state would seemingly downgrade its military capabilities in an effort to augment its chances of survival. Nevertheless, this is what a number of recipient states have done, especially during war-time, in order to forego accepting advanced military equipment which would create a greater need for foreign military advisors. For example, Kemp points out that during the Vietnam War, North Vietnam forewent accepting more sophisticated Soviet surface-to-air missiles, which would have given them a military advantage, because doing so would have left it more "dependent upon the Soviet Union to control the operation."[100] Kemp argues that,

> The trade-off [between better imported arms and greater dependency] is a difficult one for a small country at war to make; the introduction of new weapons may make all the difference between victory and defeat, yet the price of dependency may be to compromise sovereignty during and after conflict.[101]

[98] Geoffrey Kemp, "Arms Transfers," in Neuman and Harkavy (editors), *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 270.
[99] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 310.
[100] Kemp, "Arms Transfers," in *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 271.
[101] Kemp, "Arms Transfers," in *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 271.

A second strategy involves building up loyal domestic constituencies within the supplier state. Within some of the major arms suppliers (such as the United States, the United Kingdom, and France), a supplier's arms transfer policies are often determined by internal political considerations. Since public opinion has an impact on a recipient state's political decision-making, some recipient states may aim to try to build constituency groups within the supplier state. Looking at American relationships with small allies, Keohane writes that a recipient state can mitigate supplier influence when it can "count on organised group support in the United States… The key to this strategy is that demands for aid to small allies are filtered through domestic groups."[102] For example, Keohane points out that Israel has been able to do this vis-à-vis the United States; in essence, by building a strong constituency group in the United States that sympathises with it, Israel has been able to receive more American military aid than other recipients of U.S. arms and thereby maintain a "qualitative military edge" over its adversaries.[103] A recipient may build political sympathy within a supplier state by making an argument in terms of shared values between the supplier and the recipient, by building close personal relationships with officials in supplier states, or by emphasizing the positive impacts on the supplier's defence industry which an arms sale may present. [104]

A third policy aimed at mitigating dependence, which can be more costly in economic terms, is the stockpiling of arms imports. As was mentioned earlier, dependence is often seen as a problem during war-time, when a recipient has a greater demand for foreign military aid. A recipient may embark on a policy of stockpiling weapons over time, especially spare parts, in order to prevent the potentially disastrous impact of an arms embargo. As will be discussed in

[102] Keohane, "The Big Influence of Small Allies," 166.
[103] Keohane, "The Big Influence of Small Allies," 176-178.
[104] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 315.

further detail below, during the late 1970s Iraq stockpiled much of its Soviet weaponry. Consequently, for over a year at the start of the Iran-Iraq War, Iraq was able to continue fighting despite the Soviet arms embargo. Nevertheless, few recipient states are said to have the financial capacity to stockpile vast amounts of weapons efficiently. As Catrina points out, while stockpiling may reduce "short-term dependence," in the long-term it is a "costly option" and works "only if foreign involvement in logistics is kept low [and] large stocks of spare parts are managed with computerised retrieval systems."[105]

IV. Economic Dimensions of Arms Transfers

Another area of debate within literature on security cooperation is the economic dimension of arms transfers. To begin with, there is some conflict in current literature as to whether the sale of arms can be compared to the sale of other goods. On the one hand, arms transfers may be viewed as "something special, apart from all other trade [because they are] designed ultimately to kill people and destroy property (even if it happens in self-defence)."[106] On the other hand, some authors contend that arms transfers are subject to the same market forces as other commodities. For example, looking at U.S. arms-transfer policies during the 1990s, Kapstein argued that "economic forces will be the main policy driver when it comes to arms trade."[107] This section does not resolve the issue of whether arms transfers are primarily an economic or political activity. However, it raises three economic areas that are frequently highlighted in current scholarship. The first and possibly most important area is the impact of arms transfers on a recipient's socio-economic development. Many academics, journalist, and some policymakers

[105] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 220
[106] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 12.
[107] Ethan Kapstein, "Advanced Industrialized Countries," in Pierre (editor), *Cascade of Arms*, 75.

have a strong gut-reaction against arms transfers because of the perceived negative costs of arms imports on the socio-economic development of poorer countries. For example, in *The Shadow World*, Feinstein relates how during the mid-1990s South Africa, a relatively poor, developing country, purchased over $3 billion in arms from BAE, the majority of which went towards buying expensive jet-fighters; his account seriously questions whether recipient states can or should divert state funds that could be used on socio-economic development towards financing expensive arms.[108] On the other hand, as the section below shows, the numerous comparative studies that have been conducted to measure the impact of arms imports on a recipient's economic growth have not yielded a decisive conclusion. In fact, some studies have suggested that arms imports actually lead to higher economic output in a recipient state because they generate greater activity in the industrial sectors of the recipient's economy.

A second economic area which has generated much interest in present scholarship focuses on the impact of arms transfers on the defence industries in supplier states. For some suppliers the export of arms plays a very important role in keeping the domestic industry alive; ironically, recipient states which recognise such a supplier's "export dependence" may use it to seek strong relationships (e.g. to seek better quality arms or defer payment on arms-related loans). A third area which is the subject of some debate within present literature is whether a country's position as a predominant military supplier also allows it a more privileged position as an economic partner with the recipient state. Supplier governments may at times use their position vis-à-vis a recipient state to promote a domestic company bidding for a civilian contract within a recipient state.

[108] See Feinstein, *The Shadow World*, chapter 9.

Recipients' Socio-Economic Development

Policymakers who subscribe to the defence dependence view argue that arms transfers are "a drain on the economies of third-world countries."[109] In addition, Stephanie Neuman, a noted academic in the field, argues that military imports may adversely affect a recipient state's balance-of-payments, increase its debt burden, and crowd out public and private investment – in all potentially leading to detrimental effects on a developing country's economic growth.[110] Furthermore, Neuman points out that,

> Resources used for military purposes compete for resources that otherwise could have been available for socioeconomic development. The escalating demand for ever-more sophisticated weapons and the rising price of these imported weapons put pressure on central budgetary expenditures, leaving fewer resources for other purposes.[111]

Defence dependence is related to *dependencia* ("dependence") theory, which can be traced to Leninism and later to the various schools of economic dependence theory that emerged during the 1950s and 1960s.[112] Unlike classical liberal trade theorists, who argued that participation in a global free-market system furthers the economic positions of all states in the system, economic dependence theorists argue that developing countries that enter the open economy are "doomed to perpetual backwardness."[113] According to this theory, industrialised states control the terms of trade, manufacturing sophisticated goods like automobiles and airplanes while forcing poorer countries to simply export raw materials and low processing commodities.

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[109] Rajaratnam, "Speech at 10th Plenary Meeting," 1976.
[110] Neuman, "Arms Transfers, Military Assistance, and Defense Industries," in Harkavy and Neuman, "The Arms Trade," 96-98.
[111] Stephanie Neuman, "Arms Transfers, Military Assistance, and Defense Industries: Socioeconomic Burden or Opportunity," in Harkavy and Neuman (editors), *The Arms Trade*, 9.
[112] Fukuyama, *The End of History*, 99.
[113] Fukuyama, *End of History,* 100.

Defence dependence theory, meanwhile, predicts that arms imports crowd out investment in other areas which are crucial to a developing country's socio-economic development. Nicole Ball notes that "the countries that spent most on their armed forces during the 1980s generally ranked the lowest in the United Nations Development Program Human Development Index at the beginning of the 1990s."[114] Similarly, Miroslay Nincic found that the average percentage GNP growth of developing countries is slightly negatively correlated with military imports: higher military imports (as a proportion of GNP) were correlated with lower economic growth.[115] Arms imports and economic growth data for the six states of the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) from the past two decades lends some credence to Nincic's observation that higher arms imports lead to lower economic growth. In the period between 1988 and 2012 Saudi Arabia had the highest level of arms imports amongst the GCC countries, followed by the UAE, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, and Bahrain.[116] During the same period, the countries that imported less arms generally enjoyed higher economic growth than those which imported more: Qatar (13.1%), Kuwait (6.46%), Bahrain (5.53%), UAE (5.14%), Oman (4.89%), and Saudi Arabia (3.51%).[117] The above data may be explained by Wulf, a defence dependence theorist, in the following terms:

> The allotment of resources for the military and arms [in recipient states] restricts the proportion of GNP available for public consumption and national development (social surplus); in a number of peripheral societies… military activities and the resources allocated for this purpose are so voluminous that the social surplus is totally wasted. The long-term development of these societies is therefore in danger.[118]

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[114] Nicole Ball, "'Conditionality': Linking Development Assistance to Military Expenditures," in Pierre (editor), *Cascade of Arms*, 344.
[115] Miroslav Nincic, *The Arms Race: The Political Economy of Military Growth* (Westport, CT: Praegar, 1982), 130-131.
[116] SIPRI, *Arms Imports of Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, and the UAE*, 1988-2012.
[117] Hamid Ali and Omnia Abdellatif, "Military Expenditures and Natural Resources: Evidence from Rentier States in the Middle East and North Africa," *Defence and Peace Economics*, Volume 26, Number 1, 8.
[118] Wulf, "Dependent Militarism," in Harkavy and Neuman (ed.), *Arms Transfers in Modern World*, 253.

Emile Benoit's findings, however, present a different side of the argument. Examining the "defence burden" (that is, defence spending as a percent of national economic product) of 44 developing countries between 1950 and 1965, Benoit found that defence expenditures were *positively* correlated with growth rates over the time period: countries that spent more on their military (as a proportion of their economy) grew faster than those that spent less; the opposite was also true.[119] Similarly, although Neuman points out that there are "opportunity costs" to arms imports, she also argues that whereas foreign economic aid and development programs only perpetuate existing technical levels in developing countries, defence technology transfers require developing countries to raise their technological proficiency in order to operate advanced technologies. By introducing advanced industrial technologies into a developing country, Neuman argues that such transfers may help in the recipient state's long-run economic development.[120] In a number of recipient states, the import of defence technologies may in fact become part of the country's overall industrial and technology production strategy.[121]

Furthermore, a recipient state's ability to completely defend itself against foreign threats – a stage that can often be reached only through foreign aid – may be vital to securing its national economic interests. For example, Neuman argues that in some recipient states, "expenditures on armaments and expenditures for economic development are not seen as mutually exclusive policy alternatives, but as mutually complementary political necessities."[122]

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[119] See Emile Benoit, *Defence and Economic Growth in Developing Countries* (Lexington: Lexington Books, 1973) and Benoit, "Growth and Defence in Developing Countries," *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, Vol. 26, No. 2 (January, 1978), 271-280.
[120] Neuman, "Arms Transfers and Economic Development: Some Research and Policy Issues," in Neuman and Harkavy (editors), *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 221.
[121] This is particularly true in countries in East Asia, such as Japan and South Korea, where international collaboration in defence technology is part of the country's industrial strategy. U.S. Congress, *Office of Technology Assessment, Arming Our Allies: Cooperation and Competition in Defense Technology*, OTA-ISC-449 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, May 1990.)
[122] Neuman, "Arms Transfers and Economic Development," in Neuman and Harkavy, *Arms Transfers in Modern World*, 229.

Neuman observes that Shah-era Iran used military spending to guard sea-lanes in the Persian Gulf, the Gulf of Oman, the Arabian Sea, and parts of the Indian Ocean in order to protect the flow of oil, the revenues of which were vital for the country's economy. Iran's GDP rose from nearly $11 billion in 1970 to $86 billion in 1979 and its per capita include rose from $370 to $3,000 in the same period despite the fact that Tehran was one of the largest arms importers in the world under the Shah.[123] Because arms import-levels may be positively or negatively correlated GDP growth depending on the country and the time-period, the impact of arms imports on economic growth in recipient states is subject to continuing academic debate.

Policymakers in some supplier states have erred on the side of caution and assumed that that their sale of arms imports may have a detrimental effect on the recipient's economic growth. For example, Carter's arms transfer policy directive noted that "in formulating security assistance programs… we will assess the economic impact of arms transfers to those less-developed countries."[124] Similarly, Reagan's more hawkish arms transfer policy noted that in deciding where to send military aid, the United States will take into account, "whether the proposed equipment transfer can be absorbed by the recipient without overburdening its military support system or financial resources."[125] The impact of arms imports on a recipient's economy is a subject of major interest amongst policymakers, scholars, and arms transfer journalists, although whether arms imports have a negative impact on a recipient state's economy is a subject of some contention.

[123] World Bank, *Iran's GDP and GDP per capita*, 1970-1979.
[124] Carter, "Presidential Directive-NSC 13," 1977.
[125] Reagan, "President Reagan's Directive on Arms Transfer Policy," 1981.

Suppliers' Defence-Industrial Aspects

Amongst the major supplier states, the defence industry plays a key role in the overall economy. For example, in the United States, the production of military aircraft alone was responsible for the employment of over 400,000 workers annually in the mid-1980s and about 235,000 in 1994 (the decline resulted from the end of the Cold War).[126] In 2010, Lockheed Martin, one of the largest U.S. defence companies and manufacturers of military aircraft, employed about 132,000 workers.[127] In the same year, BAE Systems, a UK-based defence company with a large U.S.-based subsidiary, employed 98,200 British workers and 46,900 American workers.[128] In some supplier states, arms exports make up an important part of the overall military industry. For example, various governmental and non-governmental studies of U.S. defence-industry employment conducted during the mid-1970s found that every $1 billion in FMS accounted for an average of 40,000 American jobs.[129]

In addition, Harkavy notes that for medium-sized suppliers such as France and the United Kingdom the "arms trade [was] primarily…an economic matter" during the Cold War.[130] Data on the total number of jobs in the defence industry in France during the late 1970s and 1980s shows that the number of defence industry-related jobs ranged from a low of 280,000 employees to a high of 436,000; during those decades, arms exports accounted for anywhere between 98,000 and 151,000 jobs (or about one-third of all defence industry jobs) per year in France.[131]

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[126] Randall Forsberg, *The Arms Production Dilemma: Contraction and Restraint in the World Combat Aircraft Industry* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1994), 137. .
[127] *SIPRI*. "The SIPRI Top 100 arms-producing and military services companies." (2010) <http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/production/Top100> Accessed: August 3, 2012.<http://www.sipri.org/research/armaments/production/Top100>
[128] SIPRI, "Top 100 arms-producing and military services companies," 2010.
[129] Anne Cahn, "Chapter 10: The Economics of Arms Transfers," in Neuman and Harkavy (editors), *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 179.
[130] Harkavy, "The New Geopolitics," in Neuman and Harkavy, *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 145.
[131] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 245, "Table 13-5. Employment Effect of French Arms Exports."

While the majority of arms exports are conducted by great powers, some smaller countries that have a military industry, such as Belgium (a small industrialised country), export the majority of its defence production.[132] Additionally, some industrialising countries may also become exporters of arms. For example, in the period between 2008 and 2012, countries as diverse as Brazil, Belarus, Israel, South Korea, South Africa, and Ukraine were all arms exporters.[133] Regardless of the size of the supplier, the export of arms may "stimulate demand"[134] for suppliers' national military industries.

The economic dimension of security cooperation has a domestic political element as well. In the United States, for example, the production of advanced weapons such as jet fighters, tanks, and aircraft carriers, is usually spread across many Congressional districts. Even if U.S. military personnel announce they do not have a need for a particular weapon system, Congressional leaders have an incentive to continue funding military production programs in order to keep production lines open in order to win the votes of their constituents.[135] When defence spending is cut, military exports may offer an important external source of demand for the suppliers' military production.[136] Consequently, Reagan's arms transfer policy pointed out that "applied judiciously, arms transfers can… help to enhance United States defence production capabilities and efficiency,"[137] while the Clinton White House stated that in making decisions on whether to export a weapon or not, Washington will take into account a foreign military sale's "impact on U.S. industry and the defence industrial base."[138] In theory, arms exports may also generate

[132] Pierre, *The Global Politics of Arms Sales*, 123.
[133] SIPRI, *Global Arms Exporters*, 2008-2012.
[134] Mott, *Soviet Military Assistance*, 21.
[135] For example, see Drew Griffin and Kathleen Johnston, "Army to Congress: Thanks, but no tanks," *CNN, Security Blogs* (October 9, 2012.)
[136] For example, see Gordon Adams, "U.S. Defense Industry Flees the Country," *Foreign Policy* (June 21, 2013.)
[137] Reagan, "President Reagan's Directive on Arms Transfer Policy," 1981.
[138] Clinton, "White House Fact Sheet on Criteria for Decision-Making on United States Arms Exports," 1994.

dependence from a supplier's side. For example, a supplier may become dependent on the revenue generated by selling weapons overseas in support of its domestic defence industry, creating what may be referred to as "export dependence."[139]

Most scholars do not go as far as to argue that a large supplier state's defence industrial base can ever be completely dependent on orders from abroad, but they do agree that foreign military sales can keep a "warm" defence industrial base in times of decreased spending. During the Cold War, the viability of the Soviet Union's and the United States' defence industries were dependent on domestic demand. Following the end of the Cold War, Michael Beard writes that due to declining defence budgets, the U.S. Department of Defense was "unable to fully support its military-industrial complex… [Consequently,] Foreign Military Sales procurements [became] the only purchases keeping many U.S. weapons production facilities open."[140] Similarly, in the late 1990s, Kapstein wrote "with the decline in domestic defence budgets, most [U.S. defence] firms will have no choice but to increase exports if they are to survive and prosper."[141] Therefore, suppliers' defence companies have a strong interest in exporting arms, although the degree to which they do is in large part determined by how big a budget the government within the supplier state devotes to defence spending.

Supplier-Recipient Trade Relations

A third economic dimension of arms transfers that is often raised by scholars is whether a country's position as a primary supplier to a recipient state gives it a privileged status as a trade partner in civilian goods. Some scholarship points out that "cooperative government-to-

[139] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 1.
[140] Michael Beard, *United States Foreign Military Sales Strategy: Coalition Building or Protecting the Defence Industrial Base* (Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Air War College, Air University, 1995), iii.
[141] Kapstein, "Advanced Industrialized Countries," in Pierre (editor), *Cascade of Arms*, 87.

government relations established by arms transfers may lead the recipient to place an additional part of its non-military orders with the same supplier."[142] Furthermore, Catrina argues that military aid may help a supplier state secure important supplies of natural resources and raw materials from a recipient state.[143] Similarly, Mott points out that arms exports may allow a supplier "to gain access to critical strategic minerals and materials" and "to obtain convertible currency to pay for imports and balance trade accounts."[144]

The promise of improving economic ties between two countries through military aid has often been controversial. For example, over the past half-century, various Arab Gulf states have signed some of the largest "arms-for-oil" deals. During the 1970s, over half of all international arms imports were conducted by regimes in the Middle East, particularly by the "highly affluent oil-exporting countries."[145] According to Sampson, during the 1970s "economic pressures... dictated the rush of American weapons into the Middle East."[146] This oil-for-arms policy in the Gulf continued after the end of the Cold War. For example, according to Michael Klare, between 1990 and 1997 the United States provided the Gulf countries arms and ammunition "worth over $42 billion – the largest and most costly transfer of military equipment to any region in the world by any single supplier in recent history."[147] While the transfer of arms is normally motivated by political or strategic considerations, in some cases it may also involve salient economic elements. Unlike the previous two areas of economics raised above, there seems to be a general consensus that a country's position as a primary military supplier to a certain recipient gives it a privileged position vis-à-vis that recipient state.

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[142] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 71.
[143] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 71.
[144] Mott, *Soviet Military Assistance*, 21.
[145] Knorr, "Military Strength," in Knorr and Trager (editors), *Economic Issues and National Security*, 187.
[146] Sampson, *The Arms Bazaar*, 340.
[147] Michael Klare, *Resource Wars: the New Landscape of Global Conflict* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 2002), 65.

V. Military Impact of Arms Transfers

The military impact of arms transfers is an important topic, given that it is in part the original reason why a recipient state wanted to import arms to begin with. The arguments concerning the military impact of arms transfers are often very simple: over time a recipient state begins to resemble its primary military supplier in terms of its military doctrine, how it plans and executes its military operations, and how it sets up its civil-military relations. The reasons behind the idea that a recipient becomes a "protégé" of its supplier are usually made simple by scholars. Suppliers want the recipients' militaries to look like their own (a concept known as "interoperability," discussed below) so that, in case of war, both sides could easily fight alongside one another to defeat a common threat. Recipients, meanwhile, are said to take the seemingly common route of becoming "protégés" of their military suppliers. These two areas form a major part of the current scholarship on the topic and are discussed below.

Recipient's Military Effectiveness / Interoperability

Foreign military aid is said to directly impact the military effectiveness of a recipient state. Supplier states often refer to this as "interoperability." Interoperability refers to the idea that security cooperation transforms the recipient's military power in both a quantitative and a qualitative sense in such a way that a recipient's military begins to resemble that of its primary military supplier. For example, the Clinton administration stated that Washington takes into account "the degree to which [an arms] transfer supports U.S. strategic and foreign policy interests through increased access and influence, allied burden sharing, and *interoperability*."[148] Consequently, foreign military aid should, over time, impact the recipient's military doctrine and

[148] Clinton, "White House Fact Sheet on Criteria for Decision-Making on Unites States Arms Exports," February 17, 1994.

training, and its ability to handle sophisticated weapon systems, so that it begins to resemble that of its primary military supplier. The strategic importance of interoperability to a supplier state is explained by DISAM in the following terms:

> *The sharing of defence technology, properly controlled, is a valuable way to ensure our allies participate with the U.S. in future military operations*. In applying export and technology security policies, due recognition will be given to the importance of interoperability with allies and coalition partners.[149]

From a recipient state's perspective, interoperability with a supplier can raise the qualitative power of its armed forces to the level of its military supplier. Most supplier states are not only stronger in terms of the number of weapons that they possess, but also because of their doctrine and training; security cooperation with a stronger military power should therefore improve a recipient state's military effectiveness. As Knorr points out, some recipient states "that are incapable of producing modern arms can learn to employ them with considerable effectiveness."[150] In other words, the fact that a state does not produce advanced weapons does not preclude it from using them effectively in the battlefield. Clearly, security cooperation has an important impact on the quality of a recipient state's armed forces. Nevertheless, there is some contention whether a recipient's armed forces actually benefit from becoming interoperable with their primary military supplier. In particular, defence dependence theorists argue that, despite the potential military benefits of security cooperation (in terms of raising the qualitative level of the recipient), the notion of interoperability is simply another instrument by

[149] DISAM, *Green Book*, 7-3. Similarly, Ronald Reagan's arms transfer policy stated that, in arms transfer decisions, the United States would consider "whether the transfer will enhance the recipient's capability to participate in collective security efforts with the United States." See U.S. Government, *President Reagan's Directive on Arms Transfer Policy* (July 8, 1981.)

[150] Knorr also writes that this may not be the case for all recipient states: "It is far from clear that the less developed countries importing highly complex systems are capable of properly maintain and employing them in the near future." See Knorr, "Military Strength," in Knorr and Trager (editors), *Economic Issues and National Security*, 187.

which strong powers seek to exercise dominance over, and espouse a dependency-type relationship, with weaker, developing countries. As Wulf explains:

> The term 'arms transfer' is usually associated with the export of tanks, fighter planes, missiles, ships, and other military equipment. But … 'software,' including military doctrines and ideologies, are also exported to influence the armed forces of the periphery… The demand for arms and the requirement for foreign collaboration reinforce each other; by importing military doctrines and military technology, not only is the mode of production of the supplying country imported [but] the dependency of the military in the periphery is perpetuated simultaneously.[151]

Recipient's Civil-Military Relations

According to some authors, security cooperation aid has "an inevitable, diverse, and largely unintended influence on domestic political development."[152] Therefore, a second area in which arms imports are said to have a military impact is by modifying the civil-military relations within a state. Lefever argues that the political impact of military aid is "inevitable because the program is addressed to the military establishment which plays a significant political role in the great majority of [recipient states.]"[153] Usually scholars see the impact of military aid on civil-military relations as linear: during the Cold War recipients of Soviet military aid adopted the Soviet civil-military relations model, while recipients of Western arms adopted the Western model. For example, examining the impact of Soviet military aid on civil-military relations in recipient states, Andrew Michta writes that "Moscow's policy objectives [were] a major determinant of civil-military relations in Eastern Europe, and changes in Soviet policy [had] a discernible impact upon them."[154] Michta points out that amongst Moscow-backed communist

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[151] Wulf, "Dependent Militarism," in Neuman and Harkavy (editors), *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 250-251.
[152] Ernest Lefever, "Arms Transfers, Military Training, and Domestic Politics," in Harkavy and Neuman, *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 278.
[153] Lefever, "Arms Transfers, Military Training, and Domestic Politics," in Harkvay and Neuman, *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 278.
[154] Michta, *Red Eagle*, 3.

recipients, civil-military relations resembled the Soviet model: i.e. the Communist Party controlled the political activities of the military, which Michta described as "a political institution whose behaviour [was] bureaucratic in character."[155] Meanwhile, the impact of Western military aid on recipients is a subject of some controversy. Western countries have a system whereby a popularly-elected political leadership is in charge of a professional military. Consequently, on a policy level, current U.S. legislation explicitly prohibits military aid from going to recipients "whose duly elected head of government is deposed by military coup d'état or decree"[156] or to a recipient which engages "in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognised human rights."[157] Furthermore, according to DISAM's *Green Book*, security cooperation may be seen as a way to promote American ideals:

> Long after a country purchases, utilises, and disposes of US military equipment, what remains are the experiences the international military student (IMS) had during training. Through exposure to the American way of life and direct observation of US commitment to universal human rights concerns, the IMS comes to understand and appreciate American democratic ideals.[158]

Nevertheless, numerous authors have pointed out that U.S. foreign policy has often fallen short of its commitment not to give military aid to recipients where the civilian leadership is not popularly elected. For example, some scholars have pointed out that Arab Gulf Monarchies, which are ruled by non-elected regimes, nevertheless continue to receive significant U.S. military and economic aid.[159] Similarly, Washington continued to give security assistance to Egypt between the early 1980s and 2010 despite the fact the Egyptian government was ruled by a former air force general, Hosni Mubarak, who stayed in power through largely unfair elections.

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[155] Michta, *Red Eagle*, 3.
[156] DISAM, *Green Book*, 2-13.
[157] DISAM, *Green Book*, 2-13.
[158] DISAM, *Green Book*, 14-1.
[159] Sean Yom and Gregory Gause, "Resilient Royals: How Arab Monarchies Hang On," *Journal of Democracy*, Volume 23, Number 4 (October 2012), 85-87.

A similar case can be made regarding Chile during the 1970s, where General Pinochet received both covert and overt military aid despite gross violations of human rights and despite having a military-controlled government.

LIMITATIONS TO CURRENT LITERATURE: RECIPIENT PERSPECTIVES

In the sections above I presented some of the key assumptions, findings, and debates in the current literature on arms transfers. I also described the basic elements of defence dependence theory. Interestingly, the basic tenets of this theory are often similar to policymakers' assumptions regarding military aid.[160] Despite the existence of alternative concepts, defence dependence remains the most comprehensive school of thought on the subject. Nevertheless, this theory, as well as much of the present understanding of the impact of military aid amongst academics and policymakers, misses a crucial piece of the puzzle: the recipient state's perspective on arms transfers. In arguably the most comprehensive work on defence dependence, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, Catrina writes that, although his study provides theoretical predictions on how a recipient should behave in a security cooperation relationship, his analysis is not based on actual evidence of the arms-imports policies of the recipient states. As he explains:

> A discussion of arms import policies is not possible in this report. Not only would too many states' arms imports have to be discussed, but no evidence exists that there are arms import policies comparable to the arms exports policies of the main suppliers. This is not to deny that many recipient governments devote close attention to aspects like reliability of the supply relationship, diversification, and acquisition of technology… but rarely are these considerations formulated in a consistent and comprehensive policy.[161]

[160] For more comprehensive accounts of the issues raised in this chapter, including defence dependence, see Catrina's *Arms Transfers and Dependence* and William Mott's *United States Military Assistance* and *Soviet Military Assistance*.
[161] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 77. Emphasis added.

Part of the problem of incorporating recipient perspectives into studies of security cooperation is that, unlike governments in supplier states, which issue public policy documents regarding how they will pursue military aid, the arms import policies of recipient states are not as widely available outside of their boundaries. Thus, although defence dependence theorists provide a good starting point for understanding a recipient's demand for foreign military aid, hey do not properly incorporate empirical evidence of recipient policies on arms imports. As Phebe Marr points out, "although there is undeniable truth in dependency analysis, it has limitations [and] must be modified to take account of [the recipient's] national leadership, the ability to use and mobilise existing resources, and skill in negotiating with outside forces, all of which can mitigate dependency."[162]

[162] Marr, "Iraqi Foreign Policy," in Brown (editor), *Diplomacy in the Middle East*, 181.

CHAPTER THREE: THE STRATEGIC CONTEXT

Conventional wisdom argues that the strategic context in which recipient states make arms imports decisions puts them at a disadvantage as they can be manipulated into believing that their suppliers' threats are their own. Furthermore, recipients may allow foreign military powers to base their troops on their territory, which erodes their sovereignty over the long-run. Finally, importing sophisticated foreign arms may spark a regional arms race that could work against the recipient state's original interest in increasing its relative military power.[1] This chapter aims to answer three questions: 1. *Threat Perception*: Did Iraqi leaders generate their own threat perceptions, or were they "tricked" into purchasing arms which were then used to tackle their suppliers' security needs? 2. *Foreign Military Presence/External Protection*: To what extent did Baghdad seek "external protection" and to what extent were its military suppliers able to establish a foreign military on Iraqi territory? 3. *Military Balance of Power/Arms Race*: Did Iraqi military imports hurt or aid Iraq's relative military balance of power? This chapter argues that, rather than being tricked by its suppliers, it was the Iraqi government's own, internally-generated threat perceptions which served as the basis for arms imports decisions. Secondly,

[1] See chapter two for a wider discussion.

despite being one of the largest military importers in the world, the Baathist regime was explicitly against permitting a foreign military presence on its soil. Thirdly, although throughout the 1970s the military balance of power was tilted against Iraq, during the 1980s it imported roughly three times as much in arms as its primary enemy, Iran, and emerged as the strongest military force in the region.

PART I: 1968-1980

1. Threat Perceptions

Internal Threats: Political Opponents

To understand how Iraqi leaders conceptualised threats to their survival between 1968 and 1990 one must examine the origins of the Baathist Party, which was formed in 1944 by a cross-sectarian group of expatriate Arab intellectuals living in France.[2] These early Baathists sought to promote a "pan-Arab" national liberation movement in opposition to the French mandate in places like Syria and Lebanon; after the Second World War, they opposed the older generation of Arab politicians, whom Baathists regarded as inadequate to pan-Arab needs.[3] With its emphasis on pan-Arabism, freedom, and socialism, the Baath party slowly gained appeal across the Middle East, opening branches in Iraq and Jordan in the early 1950s.[4] Over the ensuing years members of the Iraqi Baath Party remained largely underground.[5] On July 16, 1968, Baathist military

[2] Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Baath Party,* 16-22; Helms, *Iraq*, 65.
[3] For a history of the Baathist Party from the Baathist perspective, see the Arab Baath Socialist Party, "A Survey of the Baath Party's Struggle, 1947-1974," 1974.
[4] Marion Farouk-Sluglett and Peter Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958* (London: Tauris, 2001), 88. The Baathist ideology spread, in varying degrees to Sudan, Morocco, Saudi Arabia, Yemen, and Libya. See Helms, *Iraq*, 64.
[5] See Karsh and Rautsi, Saddam Hussein, 12-30. The Iraqi Baath Party was briefly in power in 1963 but was ultimately overthrown after a backlash caused by its bloody repression of internal political opponents.

officers and civilians took over through a largely bloodless coup.[6] The Baathists quickly established the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC), a non-elected body which became Iraq's highest decision-making structure. Membership of the RCC was dominated by Baathist loyalists or family members of Baathist leaders; for example, the new Iraqi President and RCC Chairman Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr appointed his nephew, Saddam Hussein al-Takriti, as Iraq's President and Vice Chairman of the RCC.[7] Although the RCC resolved the political instability which dominated Baghdad in the preceding decade,[8] the seven-person RCC – which had the power to declare war, implement budgets, overrule judicial decisions, and write its own legislation – ultimately became a form a form of "collegiate dictatorship" that had "absolute monopoly of all judicial, legislative and executive authority."[9]

While the Baath Party's takeover in 1968 was led by the Party's military-wing (specifically Major General Hasan Al-Bakr),[10] gradually the civilian branch of the party (which had little to no military experience) came to dominate Iraqi decision-making by the mid-1970s.[11] One of the first programs that the RCC embarked on was a Baathification campaign of the Iraqi armed forces,[12] which was historically responsible for many of the coups in Baghdad. In December 1968, many of Iraq's top military officers were arrested and eight divisional commanders were jailed. Al-Bakr proceeded to promote around 100 Baathist officers to key positions in the Republican Guard (a military institution meant to protect the regime) and other

[6] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 113.
[7] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 108.
[8] Between 1958 and 1968, three-quarters of Iraqi ministers that were in the cabinet served for a year or less. See Phebe Marr, "Iraq's Leadership Dilemma: A Study in Leadership Trends, 1948-1968," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 3 (Summer 1970), 297-298.
[9] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 118.
[10] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 31-32.
[11] Schofield, *Militarization and War*, 132-133.
[12] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 40-42.

units of the Iraqi military.[13] By 1970, 3,000 Baathist loyalists were given commissions within the Iraqi military.[14] By 1973 the Iraqi armed forces were brought thoroughly under Baathist control.[15]

Internal Threats: the Kurdish Insurgency

Early in its reign the Iraqi Baath Party recognised "the question of the nationalist ambitions of the Kurds of Iraq comes in the forefront of the problems facing the Arab revolutionary movement."[16] Upon taking over, therefore, President al-Bakr announced the government's intent to "achieve national unity [and] end the problems in the North [i.e. Kurdish areas.]"[17] Nevertheless, the Kurdish leadership's scepticism about the Baathist regime's ultimate goals vis-a-vis Kurdish rights led to a devolution of central authority in northern Iraq and the intensification of violence in Kurdish areas between 1968 and 1969. In April 1969, Baghdad called out garrison troops and the then-diminutive Iraqi air force to confront the Soviet-backed Kurdish rebels in northern Iraq. Although Moscow provided some military aid to Baghdad after the 1968 coup,[18] once the Baathist regime began its counterinsurgency campaign against the Kurds Moscow stopped supporting the Iraqi central government and began supplying covert assistance to Barzani, the leader of the Kurdish resistance in northern Iraq. According to Timmerman, "When [the Soviets] wanted something from [Iraq], such as an exclusive oil concession, they stepped up aid to the Kurdish leader. When [the Baathists] became more pliant,

[13] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 116.
[14] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 120.
[15] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 54
[16] Iraqi Government, *March Manifesto on the Peaceful Settlement of the Kurdish Issue in Iraq*, 1970.
[17] Quoted in Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 66.
[18] In the decades leading up to the 1968 Baathist coup, Soviet foreign policy oscillated between supporting foreign Communist parties and fostering local nationalism (even at the expense of the power of Communist parties) in the belief that "nationalism would result in the forced retreat of imperialism and thus in the eventual downfall of capitalism." See Geoffrey Wheeler, "Soviet Interests in Iran, Iraq, and Turkey," *The World Today*, Vol. 24, No. 5 (May, 1968), 198.

they slacked off… The idea was to remind the [Baathist regime] that [it] owed [its] survival to Moscow."[19]

In January 1970, as the Iraqi military was about to be defeated by the Kurdish rebels, Hussein flew to Moscow in order to negotiate a deal with the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Alexei Kosygin, in which Moscow would withdraw its support for the Kurds. Kosygin demanded a stop to the massacre of Iraqi Kurds and pressured Baathist leaders to include members of the Iraqi Communist Party in Iraq's decision-making process. Agreeing to Moscow's demands, in March 1970 the RCC issued the March Manifesto, which accepted the principle of Kurdish autonomy "within the framework" of the Iraqi state and recognised greater rights for the Kurds.[20] Following the declaration the Soviet Union withdrew its military aid to Kurdish rebels. Over the next four years both Communist and Kurdish parties worked alongside the Baath Party, until the conflict erupted again in 1974-1975.

During the Baathist regime's second counter-insurgency campaign against the Kurds, Iraqi forces numbered roughly 90,000 men, 1,200 tanks and armoured cars, and 200 aircraft, facing tens of thousands of Kurdish *peshmerga* with military assistance provided by the United States and Iran.[21] Despite being better-equipped, with tanks, artillery, helicopters, fighters, and fighter-bombers, Iraqi military forces were unable to defeat the *peshmerga* or disrupt the Kurdish supply lines with Iran and Syria.[22] A number of miscalculations, such as failing to predict the extent of external covert support of Kurdish rebels, ultimately bogged down six Iraqi Army divisions (over half of the Iraqi Army) to fight the Kurdish insurgency.[23] By March 1975,

[19] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 34-35.
[20] Iraqi Government, *March Manifesto*, 1970.
[21] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 169; Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 122.
[22] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 81.
[23] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy,* 118.

Barzani's *peshmerga* forces (equipped with heavy artillery and SAMs) killed 1,640 Iraqi soldiers and wounded another 7,903 and controlled roughly one-third of Iraqi territory.[24] According to Baathist official accounts, Iraq lost 16,000 army personnel and suffered over 60,000 civilian and military casualties.[25] The conflict also cost the Baathist regime an estimated $4 billion and threatened to bring the country "to the brink of economic disaster."[26]

During an OPEC meeting in Algiers on March 6, 1975, Hussein and the Shah of Iran signed the Algiers Agreement, a bilateral arrangement which aimed to restore the "security and mutual confidence [of Iran and Iraq] all along their joint borders."[27] The declaration ended the Iranian-Iraqi conflict over the Shatt al-Arab waterway in terms that were favourable to Iran (described in greater detail in the next section) and discontinued Iran's support of Kurdish rebels.[28] Following the signing of the Algiers Agreement, Tehran terminated its military aid to the Kurdish in the north and Iraqi forces defeated the Kurdish insurgents soon thereafter, while the remaining Kurdish rebels fled to Iran.[29] The CIA terminated its covert "Kurdish Assistance Program" the following year.[30]

Iraq's External Threats: Iranian-Iraqi Competition

The most immediate external threat to Iraq was Iran. During the late 1960s the Shah of Iran claimed that a series of predominantly Arab islands and peninsulas in the Gulf, including Bahrain, belonged to Iran. In 1970, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Bahrain rejected Iran's claims to islands in the Gulf. Although Bahrain's status as an Arab state was confirmed via a

[24] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 169.
[25] Iraqi Government, "Baath Party Regional Congress," 1983.
[26] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 81. See also Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 169.
[27] FBIS-MEA-75-046, "Joint Statement Issued in Algiers," *Baghdad INA* (March 6, 1975.)
[28] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 82.
[29] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 170; Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 84
[30] U.S. State Department Document 289, "Memorandum from Director of Central Intelligence Colby to the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger)," June 4, 1976.

referendum the following year, Baathist leaders perceived Iran as a threat to Iraqi and "pan-Arab" security in the Gulf. In November 1970 the Shah of Iran threatened to use military force to lay claims to Abu Musa and the Tunbs, two islands in the Gulf. In June 1971, Baghdad called on the Arab states to reject the Shah's claims. Five months later, Tehran and the ruler of Sharjah Island reached an agreement to permit the landing of Iranian troops in Abu Musa; Iranian forces reached Sharjah and the Tunb Island the following day.[31] After Iran annexed the three aforementioned Gulf islands in 1971,[32] most Arab states officially condemned Tehran's actions; soon thereafter Baghdad broke diplomatic relations with Tehran.[33]

Iraqi-Iranian competition also increased over Iraq's Shatt al-Arab waterway. On April 16, 1969, Tehran announced the unilateral abrogation of the 1937 Boundary Treaty,[34] an Iraqi-Iranian agreement meant to resolve disputes arising along the shared border and agree on the rights of navigation in and the payments of levies to the Iraqi government for the maintenance of the Shatt-al-Arab.[35] On April 24, Tehran sent Iranian naval forces to the Shatt to escort an Iranian merchant ship which refused to pay a toll to Iraq authorities, thereby breaking the Treaty's stipulations.[36] Iraqi leaders, meanwhile, began to claim that Khuzestan, a predominantly Arab, oil-rich province in Iran, actually belongs to the "Arab nation."[37] Later in 1969 both Iran and Iraq deployed military forces to the Shatt al-Arab.[38] At the same time, under the pretext of countering the Iranian threat to the region, Kuwait invited Iraq to station Iraqi

[31] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 67.
[32] Helms, *Iraq*, 145.
[33] Helms, *Iraq*, 145.
[34] See Iranian Government, "Iranian Statement Concerning Abrogation of 1937 Treaty Between Iraq and Iran," April 16, 1969.
[35] See *Boundary Treaty and Protocol Concerning the Shatt-al-Arab Waterway*. Signed in Tehran, July 4, 1937. The Shatt-al-Arab is a river that runs through southern Iraq, near its border with Iran, and ends at the Persian Gulf.
[36] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 58.
[37] Iraqi Government, *History of Arabistan and the Status Quo in Iran* (Baghdad: Al-Jamhurriya Press, 1969).
[38] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 58.

troops on its territory.[39] The deterioration in Iraqi-Iranian relations resulted in major clashes along the Iran-Iraq border in December 1972, January 1973, and February and March 1974. Although the UN arranged a ceasefire between the two states on March 17, 1974, tensions flared again in August 1974. In part Iraqi-Iranian competition was driven by Iraq's belief that it was representing the pan-Arab side in a historic Arab-Persian rivalry:

> If Iraq remained silent vis-a-vis the abolishment of the 1937 [Frontier] Treaty, it would throw the torn Arabian Gulf Emirates in the laps of Iran, because Iraq is the most powerful Arab state in the area… Iraq's compliance with the Iranian decision means the complete absence of the Arab opponent in the conflict on the Gulf. [40]

The competition for influence and dominance in the Gulf between Baghdad and Tehran reached a peak in the period between 1974 and 1975, when Iran served as the conduit for American weapons reaching the Kurdish insurgency. Iranian military forces themselves were also engaged in indirect fighting with the Iraqi military during that period. For example, in December 1974, U.S.-made Hawk SAMs were fired from the Iranian side of the border and shot down two IQAF airplanes flying in northern Iraq. Baghdad accused Tehran of acting belligerently, while the latter accused the IQAF of flying its planes over Iranian air space. Ultimately, the Iraqi political leadership resolved the issue of the Iranian threat by signing the Algiers Agreement of March 1975.[41] The agreement allowed the Baathist regime to survive another day by defeating the Kurdish insurgency. Furthermore, after the signing of the Algiers Agreement, Iranian-Iraqi relations gradually improved: in January 1976 RCC Vice Chairman Hussein met with Iranian Prime Minister Amir Abas Hoyeyda in Baghdad to discuss "areas of mutual concern,"[42] and in June of the same year Iraq's foreign minister Sadun Hammadi led an

[39] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 65-66. Despite the fact that the Iranian threat to Kuwait never materialised, Iraq agreed to withdraw its troops only in July 1977.
[40] Iraqi Government, *History of Arabistan*.
[41] Long, *Saddam's War of Words*, 190
[42] FBIS-MEA-76-003, "Saddam Husayn Meets Iranian Prime Minister," *Baghdad INA* (January 5, 1976.)

Iraqi delegation to Iran, which included discussion of political and strategic importance with the Shah.[43] In 1977 the two countries signed a trade agreement and in 1978 the Baathist government expelled Ayatollah Khomeini, an anti-Shah activist, from Iraq at the request of the Iranian government.[44]

Supplier Threat Perceptions

The Soviet Union entered the Middle East during the mid-1950s with the "Czech Arms Deal," which provided the most significant amount of Soviet military aid to any Arab country (in this case Egypt) up until that point.[45] Following the overthrow of Iraq's Hashemite Monarchy and the declaration of the Iraqi Republic in 1958, Moscow signed its first military and economic cooperation agreement with Baghdad. Soviet military aid to Iraq increased in 1970, following the Baath Party's agreement to end the counter-insurgency campaign against the Kurds. In 1972 Iraq and the Soviet Union signed a 15-year Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation. Although the treaty did not contain any guarantees by Moscow to come to Iraq's aid in the event of war,[46] articles 8 and 9 of the treaty pledged enhanced security cooperation between the two countries.[47] Over the next several years, Iraqi military imports from the Soviet Union tripled, in large part financed through the sale of oil. Between 1973 and 1975, Soviet transfers of conventional weapons amounted to $4.3 billion (1990 prices), nearly three times as much as in the period between 1968 and 1972.[48]

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[43] FBIS-MEA-76-123, "Foreign Minister Comments on Visit to Iran, Middle East, and North Africa," Baghdad INA (June 24, 1976.)
[44] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 189-190.
[45] Up until then, the Middle East was a Western sphere, largely carved up between France and Great Britain since the end of the First World War. Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein,* 11.
[46] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 77.
[47] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 15-18.
[48] SIPRI, *Soviet Military Aid to Iraq*, 1968-1975.

Moscow's threat perception in the Middle East was driven by Soviet-American (and to a lesser degree Sino-Soviet) rivalry. In particular, Soviet policymakers focused on exposing the "imperialist threat" to the Middle East and on convincing local Arab regimes that the Kremlin would provide them with the military and economic aid that was needed to defeat 'imperialism.' For example, a supplement published in Moscow about the 1973 non-aligned conference taking place in Algiers stated that "all [Arab countries] admit that the major threat to their independence and the source hindering their progress is one, namely, imperialism."[49] The supplement further noted that the Soviet Union "is persistently and firmly pursuing a course aimed at supporting the anti-imperialist trend."[50]

Another "threat" that Moscow tried to convince local Arab governments that it was aimed at containing was Israel. A 1973 opinion-editorial in *Pravda*, the official Soviet government newspaper, noted that Soviet leaders "condemned the aggressive actions of Israel, which pursues a policy of territorial seizures with respect to the Arab countries."[51] In rhetoric, Baathist leaders shared the Soviet belief that Israel posed a threat to the stability of the Middle East. For example, in 1973 the Baathist regime published the "National Action Charter," which set out its strategic vision and affirmed Iraq's "struggle" against Israel through the Palestinian cause: "The Palestinian resistance is one of the main instruments of our people's (i.e. Arabs') armed struggle [in the] confrontation [with] the Zionist enemy (i.e. Israel.)"[52] The Iraqi armed forces also participated in direct confrontation with the Israeli military during the 1973 Arab-Israeli War,[53] although the Baathist regime did not have prior knowledge of the Egyptian and

[49] FBIS-MEA-73-186-S, "Arab Common Interests," *Moscow Pravda* (September 2, 1973.) Supplement: Materials on Fourth Non-Aligned Conference in Algiers, Part II.
[50] FBIS-MEA-73-186-S, 1973. Supplement: Materials on Fourth Non-Aligned Conference in Algiers, Part II.
[51] FBIS-MEA-73-186-S, "Orestov in Pravda," *Moscow Pravda* (September 1, 1973.)
[52] FBIS-MEA-73-172-S, "Text of Iraqi National Action Charter," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (August 1973.)
[53] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 167-176.

Syrian attack on Israel.[54] (Iraq's role in the 1973 Arab-Israeli War is also discussed in chapter seven.) During the latter part of the 1970s, especially after the end of the 1974-1975 campaign, the Iraqi military remained primarily focused on fighting the Israeli armed forces.[55]

Despite superficially being committed to the same policies as Arab countries, the Soviet Union differed with many Arab states on the solution to these threats. Unlike many of the Arab states, which refused to recognise Israel's right to exist, the Kremlin "remained committed to the concept of Israel's existence."[56] Furthermore, while some Arab regimes seemed intent on provoking a conflict with Israel or attacking Western interests in the Middle East, Moscow wanted to avoid direct confrontation with the West in the region.[57] During the early 1970s, the Soviets increased their amount of military aid to Arab governments and encouraged them to engage in regional security frameworks, believing that "increased unity [amongst Arab states] would allow them to confront external enemies more strongly."[58] Despite discouragement by the Kremlin, Arab countries engaged in outright conflicts with Israel between the late 1960s and mid-1970s, including during the 1967 and 1973 wars. Their losses reflected poorly on the Soviet Union, since Arab losses were due in part to poorer Soviet weapons.[59]

Meanwhile, most of Iraq's non-Soviet military imports came from France. In January 1975, while Iraq's counter-insurgency campaign was still raging, Baghdad concluded its "biggest arms deal ever" with both Paris and Moscow.[60] The roots of French support of Arab regimes in

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[54] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 120.
[55] This can be seen by an extensive intelligence report on the "Israeli threat" published by the Iraqi air force in 1979. See SH-AADF-D-001-001, "Annual Intelligence Report for 1979 on Israel, including a snapshot of Israeli air defense capabilities and a summary of movements within Israeli leadership," November 1979 to 1980.
[56] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 27.
[57] Glassman, *Arms for the Arabs*, 62.
[58] Glassman, *Arms for the Arabs*, 62.
[59] Pollack argues that the key determinant of Arab loses was the "human factor," not the quality of weapons. See Pollack, *Arabs at War*.
[60] FBIS-MEA-75-013, "Arms Deal Concluded With Soviet Union, France," *Beirut An-Nahar* (January 19, 1975.)

the Middle East can be traced to the Presidency of Charles de Gaulle (1959-1969),[61] who viewed French foreign policy in the region as "a central element within a broader foreign policy vision aimed at restoring French prestige and autonomy on a global stage."[62] After De Gaulle, French leaders continued to promote relations with Arab countries but within a "more aggressively mercantilist framework."[63] Between 1975 and 1980, Paris's conventional military exports to Iraq were worth five times as much as they were between 1968 and 1975.[64] French motivations for exporting arms to Iraq during the mid-1970s were driven not so much by threat perception but rather by "the need to offset commercial deficits with Arab oil suppliers."[65] In addition France exported a number of civil engineering projects to and helped Iraq with nuclear research.[66] When Baghdad concluded its biggest arms deal with Paris in January 1975, the latter offered "to deliver the [arms] Iraq wanted... without conditions."[67] Iraqi leaders pursued close security cooperation with France in large part because Paris did not try to modify Baghdad's foreign policy. (Iraq's diversification program during the late 1970s is discussed in greater detail in chapter five.)

2. Foreign Military Presence

Western Military Bases in the Middle East

Throughout the 1970s, three of Iraq's neighbours – Saudi Arabia, Iran, and Turkey – had Western military bases. For example Turkey housed between 10,000 and 16,000 U.S. military personnel and their dependents at the Incirlik air base, which was built during the 1950s,

[61] Prior to De Gaulle France was largely a supporter of Israel. Glassman, *Arms for the Arabs*, 10-11.
[62] Styan, *France and Iraq,* 66.
[63] Styan, *France and Iraq*, 66-67.
[64] SIPRI, *French Military Imports to Iraq*, 1968-1975 and 1975-1980.
[65] Styan, *France and Iraq*, 196.
[66] FBIS-MEA-75-224, "Nuclear Energy Agreement Signed with France," *Baghdad INA* (November 18, 1975.)
[67] FBIS-MEA-75-013, 1975.

primarily to counter the Soviet threat, and in later decades meant to operate within the NATO framework.[68] In 1950 Riyadh signed an agreement for the U.S. Air Force to use the Dhahran airfield (renewed five years later); although the United States abandoned Dhahran airfield during the 1960s, U.S.-Saudi security cooperation continued to be a major element of Saudi foreign policy in the ensuing decades.[69] In the mid-1970s, for example, Saudi Arabia signed arms deals with the United States for the delivery of M-60 tanks, armoured personnel carriers, Sidewinder air-to-air and Maverick air-to-surface missiles, and other weapons, in contracts worth over $7 billion. As part of these contracts, the United States also began the construction of naval bases in the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. In 1977, at a cost of $16 billion, the United States began to "be engaged in the construction of a variety of 'military installations' in Saudi Arabia."[70]

Meanwhile, Washington considered Iran as "a major asset in the Cold War, and significant American intelligence facilities were located on its territory."[71] In addition to hosting during the mid-1970s some 20,000 U.S. military personnel that were charged with training the Iranian armed forces,[72] the American presence in Iran during that period also allowed for "useful monitoring [of] Soviet missile tests in connection with verification of SALT I."[73] Furthermore, the United States maintained a significant naval presence in the Gulf region, particularly in Bahrain, which became a homeport for four destroyers, and Diego Garcia, which housed American naval support facilities.[74] From the Shah's perspective, the U.S. presence in Iran was partially a security guarantor, preventing a possible Soviet intervention from Iran's north.

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[68] Selin Bölme, "The Politics of Incirlik Air Base," *Insight Turkey*, Vol. 9, Number 3 (2007), 82-91.
[69] Hermann Eilts, "Saudi Arabia's Foreign Policy," in Brown (editor), *Diplomacy in the Middle East*, 236.
[70] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 210.
[71] William Quandt, "America and the Middle East," in Brown (editor), *Diplomacy in the Middle East*, 62.
[72] Leslie Gelb, "Arms Sales," *Foreign Policy*, No. 25 (Winter, 1976-1977), 17.
[73] Harkavy, *Bases Abroad*, 1.
[74] Harkvay, *Bases Abroad*, 46.

Soviet Military Bases in the Middle East

Despite claims by the Kremlin that all foreign military bases in the Gulf region "should be eliminated,"[75] Moscow itself wanted "Middle Eastern bases, political influence, and oil."[76] At various points during the late 1960s and 1970s, Moscow succeeded in establishing and maintaining foreign military bases in a number of Arab countries, including Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Syria, and South Yemen.[77] By the early 1970s Damascus gave the Soviet Union limited access to Latakia, a Syrian port; allowed the stationing of "Soviet air defence troops, pilots, and other military advisers;" and by 1973 housed approximately 6,000 Soviet personnel in Syria.[78] Throughout the 1970s, the Kremlin also developed a close security cooperation relationship with the newly-formed South Yemen. Moscow was given naval base privileges in Aden, which later became the main base for Soviet military operations in the Indian Ocean, and access to facilities in Socotra.[79] Additionally, beginning in 1978, the Soviet Union was granted access to Aden International Airport and to a military airfield in Al-Anad airbase.[80] Permission to use aerial bases in Yemen allowed the Soviet Union to fly Ilyushin-38 ASW reconnaissance patrol aircraft on intelligence missions and "expedited the Soviet intervention in the Horn [of Africa, during the late 1970s.]"[81]

Moscow also maintained close security cooperation with Cairo in the late 1960s and early 1970s. During the Six Day War of 1967, Nasser asked the Kremlin "to base some 20,000 air and

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[75] George Lenczowski, "The Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf: An Encircling Strategy," *International Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 2, Soviet Foreign Policy (Spring 1982), 312.
[76] William Griffith, "Soviet Influence in the Middle East," *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy,* 18:1, 2.
[77] Harkavy, *Bases Abroad*, 342-343.
[78] Stephen Walt, *The Origins of Alliances* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1987), 117.
[79] Lenczowski, "The Soviet Union and the Persian Gulf," 315; Harkavy, *Bases Abroad*, 53.
[80] Harkavy, *Bases Abroad*, 91.
[81] Alvin Rubinstein, "The Soviet Union and the Arabian Peninsula," *The World Today*, Vol. 35, No. 11 (Nov., 1979), 450.

naval personnel in Egypt," effectively stopping the Israeli advance.[82] Another sign of the Soviet Union providing external protection to Arab regimes in exchange for being allowed to maintain military bases came a few years later. In 1970, following a series of Israeli deep penetration manoeuvres against Egypt, Nasser asked the Soviet Union to take complete control of defending Egyptian airspace; in March of that year Moscow sent personnel to Egypt to begin constructing an entirely Soviet-manned air defence system, which ultimately included an early warning and air-control radar system, dozens of batteries of SA-3 SAMS, and over 100 MiG-21 interceptors, reportedly flown by Russian pilots.[83] Up until July 1972 the Soviet Union was able to maintain significant air and naval bases in Egypt.[84]

Soviet Attempt to Establish a Foreign Military Presence in Iraq

Following the British withdrawal from the Gulf in 1971, Moscow hinted to local Arab regimes that the USSR might try to fill the "security vacuum" created by Britain's withdrawal by stationing Soviet military forces in the Gulf region.[85] The majority of the ruling monarchies – Saudi Arabia, Bahrain, Qatar, and the UAE – were Western-allied before Great Britain's departure. Western powers were not as concerned that the Kremlin would seek to establish a military presence in the Arab monarchies as they were about its attempt to do so in Iraq, which had expelled the Western-backed Monarchy in 1958. Numerous Western reports in the early and mid-1970s argued that Iraq was slated to host a Soviet FMP. For example, Kelly argued in an April 1973 that the Soviet naval visit to Umm Qasr was "more than a routine port visit," hinting

[82] Griffith, "Soviet Influence in the Middle East," 2.
[83] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 93-94.
[84] Griffith, "Soviet Influence in the Middle East," 2.
[85] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 147.

that Moscow was trying to establish a military presence there.[86] A few months later, in January 1974 Thomas Marks of the U.S. Army reported that "a new Soviet base is under construction at Umm Qasr, on the Persian Gulf in Iraq."[87] Similarly, Bruce Porter listed Umm Qasr as a "military support facility" that was used by the USSR during the 1970s.[88]

However, reports of a Soviet naval base being established in Iraq turned out to be largely incorrect. The Soviet military was granted visitation rights to Iraqi naval ports and airfields in Iraq following the signing of the 1972 Treaty.[89] However, besides the naval visit to the port in Umm Qasr in 1973, Smolansky found that Soviet visits to Iraqi naval ports and Moscow's use of airfields in Iraq throughout the 1970s were very "limited [and] rare."[90] Similarly, Alvin Rubinstein concluded in 1979 that "Moscow's access [to Iraqi ports] has not been automatic or unimpeded… though the Soviet navy can show the flag regularly at Umm Qasr, it must request official permission for each visit."[91] The Baathist regime was not only resolved to reject foreign military bases on its territory, it also wanted this to be known publicly. For example, when American officials publicly claimed that Iraq had allowed the Soviet Union to stage a naval military base at Umm Qasr, Iraqi officials felt obligated to respond to this accusation. In September 1974, *Iraq's News Agency* (INA), declared that:

> The statement by the U.S. President's press secretary that the Soviet Union has three military bases in the Indian Ocean, and the reference by the U.S. Defense Department that one of these bases is in Umm Qasr in the Iraqi Republic, are pure fabrication...
>
> Iraq, a member of the nonaligned group… pursues an independent foreign policy [and] rejects foreign bases and military alliances… In harmony with this policy… Iraq rejects the establishment of any foreign base on its territory. This rejection is not contradictory to Iraq's friendship with the

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[86] Anne Kelly, "The Soviet Naval Presence During the Iraq-Kuwaiti Border Dispute," *Center for Naval Analyses* (March-April, 1973), 1.
[87] Thomas Marks, "France's Strategic Toehold in Africa," African Affairs, Vol. 73, No. 290 (January, 1974), 95.
[88] Bruce Porter, *The USSR in Third World Conflicts: Soviet Arms and Diplomacy in Local Wars* (Cambridge University Press: 1986), 51, Table 3.4.
[89] Rubinstein, "The Soviet Union and the Arabian Peninsula," 442-452.
[90] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 18-19.
[91] Rubinstein, "The Soviet Union and the Arabian Peninsula," 450.

> socialist states, led by the Soviet Union, to whom Iraq is bound with a friendship treaty [which] does not aim at the establishment of military bases.[92]

Interestingly, the statement above came within only two years of Iraq signing the 1972 Treaty. Not only did Baghdad refuse to stage a foreign military presence on its territory during this time period, but it also did not want to be *perceived* by other states as a staging ground for foreign militaries. Recently declassified American reports show that even though Washington publicly declared that Baghdad allowed for the stationing of Soviet military bases, privately U.S. policymakers were aware that no such bases existed in Iraq. For example, a 1976 U.S. State Department telegram to the U.S. Embassy in Saudi Arabia stated that,

> As far as we know, there is no Soviet base or base-type facility in Iraq. The most persistent claim in this regard is that there is a Soviet Naval base at Um Qasr. Though the tiny Iraqi Navy is based there and Soviet vessels use the port for occasional refuelling, we have no evidence that the port is a Soviet base. Our understanding of the Iraqi position is that they would resist any Soviet request to establish a Soviet base in Iraq.[93]

3. Military Balance of Power

Impact of Soviet Military Aid to Iraq vs. American Aid to Iraqi Kurds

One of the key events in Iraqi military aid policy was the signing of the 1972 Iraqi-Soviet Treaty. While the treaty enhanced Baghdad's relative military power in the short-term, by the mid-to-late 1970s it had actually backfired because of the reaction that it caused amongst American policymakers. Following Soviet premier Kosygin's trip to Baghdad to sign the treaty, U.S. officials had come to believe that:

> One of [the U.S.-Soviet] competitions was taking place in Iraq, at the Shah's doorstep. At issue was the future political orientation of a country second only to Saudi Arabia in its reserves of oil, hence

[92] FBIS-MEA-74-172, "U.S. Claim of Soviet Military Base in Iraq 'False,'" *Baghdad INA* (September 3, 1974.)
[93] U.S. State Department Document 305, "Telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Saudi Arabia," April 12, 1976.

> with resources to threaten the equilibrium in the Middle East and especially in the Gulf… Iraq under Saddam Hussein was edging ever closer to the Soviet Union.[94]

In 1969, Washington was asked by Iraqi Kurds for financial and arms support in their struggle against the new Baathist regime.[95] Similarly, the Shah of Iran requested that Washington help Barzani and Kurdish rebels in 1971. The United States turned away both requests.[96] However, after the signing of the Soviet-Iraq treaty, Washington began providing assistance to Kurds in northern Iraq in late 1972.[97] American aid was largely funnelled through the Shah, who continued to provide logistics and artillery support, including long-range artillery to Kurdish rebels. In April 1974 Washington doubled its covert contribution to the Kurds, and publicly provided $1 million in refugee relief; the Shah more than doubled his financial support to the Kurds, while British and Israeli military and economic assistance to the Kurds also continued.[98] As described above, this foreign covert military aid contributed to nearly toppling the Baathist regime during Baghdad's 1974-1975 counterinsurgency.[99]

External Balancing: U.S. Military Aid to Iran

A second inadvertent effect of Baghdad's 1972 pact with the Soviet Union was that it undermined Iraq's military balance-of-power vis-à-vis Iran. Fearful of a Moscow-backed proxy state in the strategically important-Gulf, the United States increased its military aid to the Shah of Iran. Nixon approved the sale of high-performance aircraft (such as the U.S. Air Force's F-15

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[94] Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, 579-580.
[95] U.S. State Department Document 259, "Memorandum of Conversation," August 26, 1974.
[96] Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, 581.
[97] U.S. State Department Document 322, "Memorandum from the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger)," June 1972- October 1973.
[98] Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, 585-591. Israeli assistance to the Kurds included the transfer of Soviet equipment captured by the Israeli military from Arab forces in 1973.
[99] For the Baath Party's perspective on the issue, see Saddam Hussein, "One Common Trench or Two Opposite Ones?" (Baghdad: Arab Baath Socialist Party, 1977.)

and the Navy's F-14), both of which the Shah had requested, and other advanced military equipment to Iran in order to, as Kissinger described it, "counteract the Kosygin-Saddam arms deal" in 1972.[100] In 1974 Tehran ordered from Washington six *Spruance*-class destroyers and a communications intelligence system at an estimated cost of $660 million and $500 million (1975 figures), as well as 12 Boeing transportation aircraft.[101] In 1976 Iran purchased 160 F-16 fighters at a cost of $3.4 billion (1977 figures).[102] In late 1977 it ordered seven E-3 Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) planes,[103] as well as eight nuclear reactors worth an estimated $10 billion.[104] Although it is difficult to put a final figure on all of the military orders under the Shah during the 1970s,[105] the table below illustrates that average Iranian military imports between 1974 and 1978 (prior to the Iranian Revolution) were over three times that of the average between 1968 and 1973.[106] The disparity between Iraqi and Iranian military imports increased markedly after 1973, as can be seen by the underlined figures on the right hand of the table below.

Iraqi and Iranian Military Imports ($ mil, 1990)

	1968	1969	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Iran	905	1247	1182	1697	1347	1969	2904	5211	4604	5658	3828
Iraq	373	411	158	186	695	1936	1436	1097	1134	1098	1832
Iraq-Iran	-532	-836	-1024	-1511	-652	-6	**-1468**	**-4114**	**-3469**	**-4560**	**-1996**
Total	**1278**	**1658**	**1340**	**1883**	**2042**	**3905**	**4340**	**6308**	**5738**	**6757**	**5660**

Source: SIPRI, *Iranian and Iraqi Military Imports*, 1968-1978

[100] Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, 582.
[101] IISS, *Military Balance*, 1975, 90. IISS, *Military Balance*, 1976, 94.
[102] IISS, *Military Balance*, 1977, 97.
[103] IISS, *Military Balance*, 1978, 105.
[104] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 210.
[105] For an account of U.S. military aid to Iran during the 1970s, see Sampson, *The Arms Bazaar*, 241-259.
[106] SIPRI, *Iranian-Iraq Military Imports*, 1968-1973.

Arms Race in the Gulf

The Iranian-Iraqi arms race spread to other countries in the Gulf, which by the second half of the 1970s had become the largest arms-importing area in the world. In particular, Saudi Arabia became a major purchaser of U.S. military equipment. Riyadh's weapons imports during this period included the purchase of 250 M-60 medium tanks, HAWK surface-to-air missiles, 400 air-to-surface missiles, 2,000 Sidewinder air-to-air missiles and 45 F-15 fighters.[107] According to SIPRI figures, regional arms spending on military imports amongst the countries of the Persian Gulf – Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Oman, Qatar, and Bahrain – peaked in 1977, when total spending on military imports for these countries reached $8.2 billion.[108]

To keep up with the arms race in the Gulf, the Baathist regime spent an enormous amount of the state budget on the military.[109] Almost 40% of Iraqi oil revenues were spent on purchasing expensive military equipment from abroad, while 20% of the Iraqi labour force was employed by one of the Iraqi security services: the military, the popular army, the police.[110] Between 1978 and 1980, Iraq ordered $4 billion worth of arms from France alone.[111] In late 1979, Iraq also signed a contract for 24 additional Mirage fighter-bombers with Paris and MiG-23, MiG-25, and MiG-27 fighter aircraft with Moscow.[112] In early 1980, Iraq signed a $2.6 billion contract with Italy to outfit the entire Iraqi Navy; transfers included four Lupo frigates, six 650-ton corvettes, and one Vesuvlo-class vessel, all at an estimated cost of $1.3 billion.[113] All of these purchases were in part necessitated by the American counter-reaction following the

[107] IISS, *Military Balance*, 1976-1979.
[108] SIPRI, *Gulf Military Imports*, 1975-1980.
[109] Iraq viewed Saudi purchases of military equipment with disdain. See FBIS-MEA-79-016, "Al-Thawrah: F-15's in Saudi Arabia Aimed at Dividing Arabs," *Baghdad Al-Thawrah* (January 23, 1979.)
[110] Colgan, *Petro-Aggression*, 104.
[111] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 122.
[112] IISS, *Military Balance 1980*, 103.
[113] IISS, *Military Balance 1980*, 103.

1972 Iraqi-Soviet treaty, the result of which unwittingly caused Iraq to enter an arms race with its two neighbours in the Gulf: Iran and Saudi Arabia. The expansion of the Iranian military far outpaced that of the Iraqi armed forces and, during the latter half of the 1970s, posed a challenge to Iraqi regional ambitions. Even though the Iraqi government signed the 1975 Algiers Agreement with Iran, it was never fully comfortable with the concessions which it had to make during the negotiations. These tensions played themselves out in the following decade.

PART II: 1980-1990

1. Threat Perceptions During the Iran-Iraq War

Iraqi Perspectives on Revolutionary Iran

Saddam Hussein became Iraq's President in July 1979, just months after the toppling of the Shah of Iran.[114] Although Iraq's initial invasion has been has been a subject of much literature, few accounts have been able to capture how Iraqi leaders perceived the threat from post-revolutionary Iran during the late 1970s and early 1980s. For example, in an often-cited study, *Iran and Iraq at War,*[115] Shahram Chubin and Charles Tripp claim that "there is no indication that the Iraqi authorities showed any profound understanding of developments in Iranian politics. On the contrary, [Baathist leaders] persisted in seeing Khomeini as the 'turbaned Shah,' acting within the same guidelines and towards much the same end [as the Shah.]"[116] Nevertheless, the authors concede that "a number of factors contributed to [Iraq's decision to invade Iran],

[114] FBIS-MEA-79-138, "President Al-Bakr Announces Retirement on July 16," *Baghdad INA* (May 16, 1979.) Although Al-Bakr "retired" officially on July 16, the presidential powers were transferred to Saddam Hussein on July 11, 1979 in a closed meeting of the RCC. Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 111.
[115] The work is cited by, amongst others, Efraim Karsh in *The Iran-Iraq War 1980-1988* and Anthony Cordesman in *The Lessons of Modern War, Vol. 2*.
[116] Chubin and Tripp, *Iran and Iraq at War*, 26.

although, given the closed and secretive system of Iraqi government, it would be difficult to describe with any accuracy the relative weight of each."[117] Julian Schofield's study, *Militarization and War*, published in 2007, notes that Iraq invaded Iran in part because war between the two was essentially inevitable; therefore, it was better for Iraq to invade earlier rather than later, when Iran could exploit internal issues in Iraq (e.g. by giving military aid to Iraqi Kurds) in order to undermine the Baathist regime.[118] While these accounts have some truth to them, archival evidence at the SHC shows that Iraqi leaders showed much more ambiguity towards the threat posed by post-Revolutionary Iran and that their decision to invade in 1980 was more calculated than it had been given credit by previous accounts.

On February 13, 1979, Baghdad sent a letter to the new provisional government in Tehran that noted that Iraq "views with sympathy and support the struggle waged by the neighbouring and friendly people of Iran for freedom, justice and progress."[119] On February 20, 1979, top Iraqi officials met to discuss the implications of the developments in Iran, where the Shah had fled just over a week earlier.[120] Although Khomeini seemed to have the broadest base of popular support at the time, different Iranian political parties were fighting against each other in Tehran and it was difficult to tell which political faction would gain political power. At the meeting, contrary to the narrative that Baathist leaders perceived post-Revolutionary Iran in the same light as Shah-era Iran, Hussein stated that post-Revolutionary turmoil "in Iran does not have only one possible outcome."[121] One of the potential outcomes was that Iran would emerge as a "friend of Iraq": in Hussein's estimates, Iran's "stability and unity will be something

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[117] Chubin and Tripp, *Iran and Iraq at War*, 27.
[118] Schofield, *Militarization and War*, 139.
[119] Iraqi Government, "Message from the Iraqi Government to the Government of Mr. Mehdi Bazargan, Head of the Provisional Government of Iran," February 13, 1979.
[120] SH-SHTP-A-000-851, "Saddam and High-Ranking Officials Discussing Khomeini, the Ethiopian-Eritrean conflict, the Potential for Kurdish Unrest, and the Iranian Economy," February 20, 1979.
[121] SH-SHTP-A-000-851, 1979.

positive for us if Iran is not hostile to the Arab nation... [Therefore,] we are seeking an Iran that is united, developed, a good neighbour, and not hostile to the Arabs."[122]

While such an outcome was preferable, Iraqi leaders recognised that the emergence of a friendly Iran was not guaranteed. In early 1979, therefore, Baathist leaders sought better relations with Tehran in general but did not attempt to support any Iranian faction vying for power should their side not come to power. This policy was driven by the following calculations: if Iraq did not take any actions to destabilise Iran during this period and a friendly regime emerged, then Iraq would have a powerful ally; on the other hand, the longer the political infighting in Iran dragged on, the weaker Iran would become – which would be vital in case an antagonistic regime ultimately came to power. This approach was explained by Hussein during the February 1979 meeting in the following terms: "We should not give... preference to any of the parties that we mentioned. Let them fight one another. We will deal with the one who achieves success [in Tehran]… Our patience is an ordeal to [Iran] in this situation."[123]

In April 1979 Khomeini emerged as the political victor in the fight for power in Tehran and declared Iran an "Islamic Republic." Iraq's Baathist regime not only recognised the new government in Iran but also publicly embraced it. In June 1979 the Baath Party's official newspaper, *Al-Thawra*, argued that during the 1970s Iraq placed "all its resources at the service of the Iranian opposition, including Khomeini... who used Iraq as a centre for guidance and for ideological, political and organizational activities [and] was treated by the Iraqi state with respect."[124] In the same month, when Iraqi aircraft fighting Kurdish rebels in the north

[122] SH-SHTP-A-000-851, 1979.
[123] SH-SHTP-A-000-851, 1979.
[124] FBIS-MEA-79-116, "Al-Thawrah Discusses Relations with Iran," *Baghdad INA* (June 13, 1979.) Of course, the article failed to mention that Baghdad later expelled Khomeini from Iraq at the Shah's request.

mistakenly bombed the Iranian side of the border, Baghdad apologised to Tehran for the incident.[125]

Escalation of Hostilities and Iraq's Decision to Invade

Despite Baghdad's diplomatic outreach, Tehran accused Iraq and other Arab states of conspiring against it. For example, *Tehran International Service* claimed that "some Arabic and Islamic regimes, particularly in Egypt, Morocco, Iraq, Bahrain and Saudi Arabia stand against Iran, denounce its revolution and its anti-imperialist measures and refuse to condemn the war... which the United States is trying to impose on the Iranian people."[126] In addition, Khomeini's regime expressed expansionist ambitions.[127] In an interview with *Vienna Die Presse* in March 1979, Khomeini recalled that the "most holy Ali, the first imam of the Shi'is, ruled a state which included the Arabian Peninsula, Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Syria, and other regions."[128] In addition, Tehran claimed that various territories in the Gulf, such as Bahrain, should be part of Iran.[129] The Baathist regime's suspicion of the new Iranian regime were further heightened by Khomeini's attempts to reach out to Iraq's Shi'i community, which forms a majority of Iraq's population but was under-represented in the Sunni-dominated political leadership and military officer corps.[130]

In November 1979, Iraqi President Hussein held a meeting with his inner circle to discuss regional developments, at which Baathist leaders concluded that Khomeini's policy was to

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[125] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein,* 137.
[126] FBIS-MEA-79-227, "Commentary on Threats," *Tehran International Service* (November 22, 1979.)
[127] At least publicly, Khomeini's expansionist ambitions rested on the 'Islamic bond' between countries in the region, while the Shah's ideology focused more on historic claims.
[128] FBIS-MEA-79-062, "Ayatollah Khomeini Interviewed by Vienna Die Presse," *Vienna Die Presse* (March 23, 1979.)
[129] Helms, *Iraq*, 53.
[130] For example, see FBIS-MEA-79-106, "Khomeini Sends Cable to Ayatollah in Iraq," *Tehran International Service* (May 29, 1979.)

"isolate Iraq" and that Tehran wanted to play the role of regional policeman.[131] Latif Jasim, Iraq's Minister of Culture and Information, argued that "Gulf people must be warned" that the Iranian policy threatens the region's stability.[132] Hussein argued that "we have treated them [the Iranian leadership] more kindly than they deserve,"[133] hinting that Iraq may soon move towards a military solution to the problem. In October 1979, Iraq broke off official diplomatic relations with Iraq.[134] In November Baghdad told Tehran that the Algiers Agreement would have to be revised and that Iran must give up its claims to the three Gulf islands and allow independence to its Arab, Kurdish, and Baluch populations.[135]

Baathist leaders also began to provide covert military and economic assistance to Arab and Kurdish opposition groups within Iran in order to undermine Khomeini's regime. Archival evidence at the SHC indicates that the Iraqi General Military Intelligence Directorate (GMID) had begun drawing plans to secretly destabilise Khomeini's regime as early as March 1979; in particular, the GMID's plans centred on "creating an organised party in Ahwaz" that would protest against the Iranian regime and push to "restore the Arabic characteristics of the region."[136] During the same time period (early 1979), the GMID's northern directorate was told to "watch the situation in [Iran's] Kurdistan" in order to see whether there were groups there as well that were seeking independence from Iran which Iraq could give covert military aid to.[137] In the aforementioned Iraqi government meeting in November 1979, Hussein referenced an Iraqi

[131] SH-SHTP-D-000-559, "Saddam and His Inner Circle Discussing Relations with Various Arab States, Russia, China, and the United States," circa November 4-20, 1979.
[132] SH-SHTP-D-000-559, 1979.
[133] SH-SHTP-D-000-559, 1979.
[134] Sayed Hassan Amin, "The Iran-Iraq Conflict: Legal Implications," *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (January 1982), 167- 188.
[135] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 256.
[136] SH-GMID-D-000-620, "The Arabistan (Arabs in Southern Iran) in Al-Ahwaz Area Calling for Independence," March 3-24, 1979. Al-Ahwaz is a historically Arab city located within Khuzestan, Iran.
[137] SH-GMID-D-000-620, 1979.

"plan [that] took place with the Ahwaz Arabs," and told his cabinet that "if the Ahwaz Arabs need weapons, money, media propaganda, films, or politics, we are here to help."[138] Hussein also told his inner circle that,

> Now the Kurds fight in the north and the Arabs fight in the south [of Iran]… Regarding this issue, we will continue to support them until a self-governing body is achieved in Arabistan and in Kurdistan, Iran… Both the Arabs and the Kurds are revolting now and they must achieve self-governance. It is in our planning that they achieve self-governance. [139]

The deterioration in diplomatic relations between Baghdad and Tehran led to a series of military hostilities along the Iraq-Iran border in January 1980 that included "cross-border raids, artillery duels, aerial dogfights, political subversions and assassinations," including a failed Iraqi attempt to install Shapur Bakhtiar -- the last Iranian Prime Minister under the Shah -- into power in Tehran.[140] On September 7, 1980, Baghdad accused Iran of shelling border towns which belong to Iraq according to the Algiers Agreement.[141] Baathist policies were countered by Khomeini with calls on Iraq's Shi'is to topple non-Islamic regimes across the Gulf. After a failed assassination attempt (allegedly sponsored by Iran) on Tariq Aziz, the Iraqi government publicly pledged to take revenge on Iran. On June 9, 1980, Sadegh Ghotzbadegh, the Iranian foreign minister, publicly stated that the Iranian government "had taken the decision to topple the Baathist regime in Iraq."[142] The following day, Sadun Hammadi, the Iraqi foreign minister, argued that Iranian troops were still occupying Iraqi territories, despite repeated demands that Iranians evacuate them.[143]

A theory that is popular in some Iranian, pan-Arab, and Western literature on the Iran-Iraq War is that the Carter administration gave the Iraqi government an implicit "green light" to

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[138] SH-SHTP-D-000-559, 1979.
[139] SH-SHTP-D-000-559, 1979.
[140] Amin, "The Iran-Iraq Conflict," 167-168.
[141] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein,* 147.
[142] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein,* 146.
[143] Helms, *Iraq*, 163.

invade Iran. For example, Dilip Hiro writes that "by supplying secret information, which exaggerated Iran's military weakness, to Saudi Arabia for onward transmission to Baghdad, Washington encouraged Iraq to attack Iran - seeing in the move the making of a solution to the hostage crisis on the eve of the presidential poll."[144] In his biography of Saddam Hussein, with whom he worked personally, Said Aburish writes that in July 1980 Saddam met with King Hussein of Jordan in Amman; on the same day, King Hussein met with three CIA operatives. According to Aburish, both Saddam and the CIA operatives "were preoccupied with the problem of Iran" and all either met together to discuss an Iraqi invasion of Iran or at the very least there was "an indirect meeting of minds through King Hussein," in which American officials gave their implicit support for an Iraqi invasion of Iran.[145] A number of other sources, including Western academics and Iranian officials, have made similar allegations regarding American involvement in the lead-up to the Iran-Iraq war.[146]

More recent research casts serious doubt on this theory's validity. One of the key pieces of evidence used to substantiate this theory is an April 1981 memo written to President Reagan's then-Secretary of State Alexander Haig which noted that "President Carter gave the Iraqis a green light to launch the war against Iran through Fahd."[147] Chris Emery questions the credibility of this document by pointing out that this memo was "written by an individual outside government in 1980 [when Carter would have made this decision] and the circumstances in

[144] Dilip Hiro, *The Longest War: the Iran-Iraq Military Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 102.
[145] Said Aburish, *Saddam Hussein: the Politics of Revenge* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2000), 187-188.
[146] For a discussion of literature supporting the "green light" theory, see Chris Emery, "Reappraising the Carter Administration's response to the Iran-Iraq War," and Malcolm Byrne, "Critical Oral History: a new approach to examining the United States' role in the war," in Ashton and Gibson (editors), *The Iran-Iraq War,* 150-152 and 203-204, respectively. See also Hal Brands, "Saddam Hussein, the United States, and the invasion of Iran: was there a green light?" *Cold War History* (June 30, 2011), 319-320.
[147] Byrne, "Critical Oral History," in Ashton and Gibson (editors), *The Iran-Iraq War*, 204.

which he reached his interpretation remain unknown."[148] Emery concludes that American influence on Baghdad's decision to invade Iran is "highly questionable."[149] Furthermore, an examination of the CRRC archive yields no evidence that Iraqi officials were directly or indirectly encouraged by Washington to invade Iran in 1980. In fact, a number of Iraqi statements point in the opposite direction. For example, in a September 16, 1980 discussion (just days prior to Iraq's invasion of Iran), Baathist officials concluded that "the Americans are going to work hard against us [Iraqis]"[150] in the upcoming intervention. Examining Iraqi government documents from the period, Brands also concludes that "far from expecting American support, Saddam seems to have believed that the United States could not but oppose his invasion of Iran."[151] Saddam's suspicions that Western nations may work to undermine Iraq during the war proved to be prophetic. During the Iran-Iraq war national security officials in the Reagan and Bush administrations supported Iraq "not out of preference for one of two reprehensible regimes, but because [the United States] wanted neither to win the war and were worried that Iraq would prove to be the weaker [side]."[152] As the Iran-Contra affair (discussed below) would later illustrate, American officials ultimately proved willing to provide arms to Iran, thereby "working against Iraq" as Saddam had predicted.

[148] Emery, "Reappraising the Carter Administration's Response to the Iran-Iraq War," in Ashton and Gibson (editors), *The Iran-Iraq War*, 152.
[149] Emery, "Reappraising the Carter Administration's Response," 152.
[150] SH-SHTP-A-000-835, "Saddam and his advisers discussing Iraq's decision to go to war with Iran," September 16, 1980.
[151] Brands, "Saddam Hussein, the United States, and the invasion of Iran," 334.
[152] Brent Scowcroft, quoted in Judith Yaphe, "Changing American perspectives on the Iran-Iraq War," in Ashton and Gibson (editors), *The Iran-Iraq War*, 184.

From Limited Intervention to Full-Scale Mobilization

Although it is difficult to confirm the exact moment when the top Baathist leadership decided on the inevitability of a full-scale invasion of Iraq, this decision probably came in early or middle 1980.[153] Between January and June 1980, the GMID conducted a top secret study on the military, political, and economic state of Iran.[154] The study, which was approved -- if not directed -- by the top political leadership in Baghdad, seems to be one of the first clear signs that the Iraqi government had begun to seriously consider using military force to defeat the Iranian threat. Rather than analysing the intentions of the new Iranian government (something left for Iraq's political leadership to carry out), the GMID report focused primarily on Iranian military capabilities -- including the strength and readiness of the Iranian air force, army, and navy -- and the state of the Iranian military command. For example, the GMID report noted that:

> We expect more deterioration of the general situation of Iran's fighting capability. It is probable it will send other troops to the Kurdish region to confront the armed Kurds. Moreover, the shortage of spare parts and the continuation of the disunity and general contradiction will lead to a greater decline of [Iran's] combat capability.
>
> … At present, Iran has no power to launch wide offensive operations against Iraq, or to defend itself on a large scale. However, it is necessary to pay attention to taking protective measures, because it cannot be guaranteed that the Iranian enemy could not launch a special operation of a dangerous nature. For instance, it could execute an air strike at the front line of our airbases with a few Phantom airplanes, if their troops or interests encountered effective losses *due to our activities, or when [our] operation of weakening the Khomeini regime reaches a more intensive stage*.[155]

In essence, the document provided one of the key elements of capability analysis which was important for Iraqi decision-makers in deciding whether to respond to Khomeini's threats

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[153] As pointed out above, the RCC had concluded that it *may* have to engage Iran militarily in the future as early as February 1979.

[154] SH-GMID-D-000-842, "General Military Intelligence Directorate Report Assessing Political, Military, and Economic Conditions in Iran," January 1- June 30, 1980.

[155] SH-GMID-D-000-842, 1980. Emphasis added. The GMID report also provided a description of Iran's diplomatic relations with the great powers and about the Iranian economy, including on everything from the rate of Iran's inflation to how many barrels of oil per day Iran exported to each country.

with military force. In a 2009 interview with American researchers, retired Iraqi General Ra'ad Majid Rashid Hamdani (who served in the Iraqi Army and later the Republican Guard between 1970s and 2003) stated that "a gathering of senior [Iraqi] officers discussed the decision to invade [Iran] on *July 6, 1980*," that is, over three months before the actual start of the war.[156] According to Hamdani, at the meeting, the Baathist leadership expressed its desire to have a "limited invasion" of Iran, which was based on the following calculation:

> If Iraqi troops could advance 15 to 20 kilometres inside Iran, the [Iranian] Revolutionary Army would have to advance from Tehran toward the border to confront us. This would provide secular counter-revolutionary groups in the [Iranian] capital a chance to seize control and establish a secular government.[157]

According to Hamdani, at the July 1980 meeting, senior Iraqi military officers told Hussein that it would be risky to send all of the country's army brigades to the border since Iraq did not have enough reserves. This led to the Iraqi government's decision to accelerate its expansion of the Popular Army.[158] In the year between Hussein's ascents to power in 1979 and the invasion of Iran in September 1980, the size of the Iraqi Popular Army (or "People's Army") grew from 100,000 to 250,000 men.[159] While not a professional force, the Popular Army bolstered the Baath Party's belief that the "unannounced reserves [of the Iraqi military] are the Iraqi people."[160] In addition, Hamdani argues that the invasion was not a spontaneous attack and that "all senior commanders were notified of the decision [to invade Iran] on 7 July and were told to submit a report evaluating the readiness of their units within 72 hours."[161] By early

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[156] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 52. Emphasis added.
[157] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 52. Hamdani seems to be referring to the *Tudeh* or other Marxist and Communist groups in Iran that were vying for power in Tehran after the Shah's overthrow.
[158] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 52. The Iraqi Popular Army was formed in February 1970 to provide military training to Baath Party members. See Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 125.
[159] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 190.
[160] Hamdani quoting Hussein in July 1980 meeting, *Saddam's Generals*, 52.
[161] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 57. Hamdani's account differs from that of former Iraqi Air Force Major General Abousi, who stated in a 2009 interview that the Iraqi Air Force was not notified of the decision to invade Iran until the last moment. See interview with Al-Abousi in *Saddam's Generals*, 190.

September 1980, the senior levels of the Baathist leadership felt the Iraqi armed forces were adequately prepared for a limited invasion of Iran, and that they "could achieve victory in four to six weeks."[162] The limited nature of Iraq's early assaults into Iran in late 1980 is reinforced in a 2009 interview with retired Iraqi Major General Aladdin Hussein Makki Khammas, who served as the chief of staff of the Army's III Corps between 1981 and 1984:

> The attack into Iran should have been a short one, like a blitzkrieg, because Iraq did not have the resources for a long campaign. We knew that we were not prepared to fight a long war, and that Iran had a greater capacity in terms of human resources, wealth, and land mass. Logically, if Iraq fought a war against Iran it needed to be short, such as when Israel fought the Six-Day War. Judging from the pre-emptive strike and attack, this was the intention of Iraq's [high] command.[163]

On September 16, 1980, in a meeting with senior military officials, Hussein stated that, "we gave Iran all this time to return [Iraqi] land, but the Iranians did not return it according to the agreement. We have to gain it back with the blood of our soldiers and by force."[164] On the following day, the Iraqi government abrogated the 1975 treaty with Iran and declared Iraqi sovereignty over the Shatt al-Arab. Less than a week later, the Iraqi air force initiated a series of strikes on Iran's military airfields; these attacks were followed by a ground invasion. Although Tripp argues that the Iraqi government believed that a show of force would compel Khomeini's government to concede to Iraq's territorial claims and acknowledging the latter's military superiority,[165] it seems from more recent evidence (presented above) that Baathist leaders wanted to draw Iranian military troops towards the Iraqi border to create a power vacuum in Tehran, which it believed would allow secular Iranian parties to topple the Khomeini regime. In other words, top Baathist leaders saw the role of the Iraqi armed forces in 1980 as much of an

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[162] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 54.
[163] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 129.
[164] Hussein quoted in SH-SHTP-A-000-835, "Saddam and his advisers discussing Iraq's decision to go to war with Iran," September 16, 1980.
[165] Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 233.

instrument by which they could bring about regime change in Iran as it could be used to compel or deter the Iranian regime from attacks.

The Iraqi leadership understood that the transformation of a limited intervention into a full-scale war had dangerous implications. In the aforementioned meeting on September 16, 1980, an Iraqi military official spoke of the importance of calculating "the worst case scenario" in the upcoming war. According to the military official, in the worst case, "Iran might escalate [from a limited intervention to a full-scale war]… The Soviet Union might pressure us by [imposing an arms embargo]… we should [therefore] look for another source from which to import ammunition – [and other weapons.]"[166] During the same meeting, an Iraqi military official named Abu-Bashar made the following prediction about whether Baghdad would be able to access external military assistance over the long-run in a protracted war:

> There is no doubt that the international circumstance, presently, is in our favour to get the land back [i.e. territory inside Iran which Iraqis viewed as their own] and to conduct operations internationally. In the future, the international circumstances might not stay as they are if [military operations] take a long time… taking a long time means that we will drain our resources. There is a transit agreement between Iran and the Soviet Union. The Iranians will allow the Soviet goods to pass through their land, and the Soviets in return will allow the Iranian goods to pass through their land… Also, [the United States] might find a solution for [the hostage crisis with Iran.] *If these problems are solved, it is possible that both countries [the United States and the Soviet Union] would drain us and Iran at the same time*.[167]

Although Hussein expressed his confidence that the Iraqi military would be able to accomplish a quick victory, other Iraqi officials present at the meeting, such as Abu Hasan, pushed back on his optimistic predictions and repeated the line of another participant in the discussion that the Iraqi military invasion of Iran "might lead to a full-scale war."[168] Furthermore, Abu Hasan stated that the support of the Soviet Union could not be guaranteed:

> In my opinion, the Soviets are more lenient toward us than before. However, I do not think they will provide good support to Iraq... In my estimation, the Soviet Union will be tight regarding the supply of ammunition. This is if the situation escalates. If it is a few days of war, then we do not need them.

[166] Iraqi military official quoted in SH-SHTP-A-000-835, 1980.
[167] Iraqi military official quoted in SH-SHTP-A-000-835, 1980. Emphasis added.
[168] Iraqi official quoted in SH-SHTP-A-000-835, 1980.

> However, the Soviet Union will not supply [us] for a long period of time. Please calculate this in the decision [to invade Iran.][169]

Iraqi-Supplier Mutual Threat Perception

The Iran-Iraq War began on September 22, 1980 with the Iraqi invasion of Iran. Chapter 7 discusses in greater detail the various military phases of the war. At this point it is worth examining the role and the extent to which suppliers' threat perceptions played in Baghdad's decision to go to war. During the early-1980s, although the Soviet Union's share of total Iraqi military imports was in decline, Moscow still provided roughly half of Baghdad's military imports.[170] In 1981, Dennis Ross wrote the following analysis of Moscow's approach to threat perception:

> Along all their borders or nearby regions, the Soviets favour weak states with regimes that are friendly and responsive to Soviet concerns and needs. In this way, the Soviets can minimise the threats they face and in real terms meet a fundamental Soviet objective: the pushing of threats farther and farther away from the Soviet homeland.[171]

Given this perspective on Soviet threat perception, it would made have sense for Moscow to distance itself from Iraq, which is farther away from the Soviet border, and to create better relations with the new regime in Iran, a country which was situated directly on its southern border. To an extent, this is what the Kremlin attempted to do at the start of the war. When Tariq Aziz, a member of the RCC, arrived in Moscow on September 21, 1980 to seek Soviet material and ideological support, the Kremlin was angry at Baghdad's decision to invade Iran and imposed an official arms embargo on Iraq. Moscow also reached out more closely to the Iranian regime and officially praised the progress of the Iranian revolution. As the table below

[169] Iraqi official, "Abu Hasan," quoted in SH-SHTP-A-000-835, 1980.
[170] SIPRI, *Iraqi Military Imports*, 1980-1984.
[171] Ross, "Soviet Threats to the Persian Gulf," 166.

shows, despite the strains imposed on Baghdad by the Soviet arms embargo, Soviet military supplies continued to reach Iraq, albeit through intermediaries in Socialist bloc-nations (particularly Poland) and some Arab states. Nevertheless, while Soviet arms continued to flow to Iraq, the Iraqi regime put an emphasis on getting military equipment from other countries, including France, Brazil, Yugoslavia, and various European countries. Iraqi total military imports increased significantly during the war, more than doubling on a yearly average by 1984, while Soviet military aid of total Iraqi military imports declined.[172]

Iraqi Military Imports, 1980-1984

Year	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984
Total Mil. Imports ($ mil)	2,114	2,541	3,164	3,330	4,637
Soviet Arms/Total Military Imports	77%	56%	52%	45%	54%

SIPRI, *Iraqi Military Imports*, 1980-1984; author's calculations.

The difference between total Iraqi military imports and those supplied by the Soviet Union were made up by Western arms, which Iraqi leaders viewed as superior. Exemplifying the Iraqi attitude towards Soviet arms imports, in a meeting with senior political-military officials in the spring of 1980, Aziz pointed out that an Iraqi military unit which suffered defeat in a battle in an early part of the war "was hurt because the Soviet weapon is inexpensive,"[173] i.e. Aziz recognised that although the Soviet arms that they were importing were cheaper relative to other available arms on the world market, their inferior quality put a strain on Iraqi military effectiveness. At the same meeting, when one of the Iraqi military officials complained that Britain's Chieftain tank which Iraq wanted to procure was "expensive,"[174] Hussein responded that "I am not going to worry about the weapon's price" and promised that "I will not leave any

[172] SIPRI, *Iraqi Military Imports*, 1980-1984.
[173] SH-PDWN-D-000-566, 1986.
[174] SH-PDWN-D-000-566, 1986.

advanced weapon in the world that we can reach either directly or by assigning someone to buy it for us."[175]

The countries that Iraq "assigned" to buy weapons for it were primarily Kuwait and Saudi Arabia. Both countries shared Iraq's threat perception vis-à-vis Iran and were therefore willing to finance the Iraqi military. These two countries, alongside Iraqi political-military officials, were able to fill the gap created by the Soviet arms embargo between 1980 and 1982 by procuring weapons from over a dozen different countries, including Argentina, Brazil, Czechoslovakia, France, and Yugoslavia, amongst others. Nevertheless, it was Moscow's and Washington's support of the Iraqi war effort that was more important than any of the other military allies: the Kremlin still provided roughly half of Iraq's military imports, while Washington's approval sparked other Western states to increase military assistance to Iraq. Despite Baghdad's rapprochement with Washington, which began in the early 1980s, and the improvement in relations with Moscow in 1982, Iraqi leaders continued to believe that "America is against us and so is the Soviet Union."[176] The dilemma of reaching out to countries which the Baathist leadership felt were potentially opposed to Iraqi interests was expressed by Hussein in a meeting with his military advisors just one year into the Iran-Iraq War:

> Siding with the Soviets [on foreign policy matters] is indicative of weakness. At the same time, opposing the Soviets is completely unacceptable. We don't want to be seen as dependent or regarded as being in the Soviet camp. And if we do not improve our relations with them it is as if we have severed our [security] agreement with them.[177]

Ultimately, through diplomatic efforts on both sides, Iraqi-Soviet relations improved after Moscow realised that the other partner it was trying to court, the Khomeini government, was an intransigent actor. The Kremlin resumed arms shipment to Iraq in mid-1981 through

[175] SH-PDWN-D-000-566, 1986.
[176] Hussein in SH-SHTP-A-000-711, 1981.
[177] Hussein in SH-SHTP-A-000-711, 1981.

intermediaries, and officially ended the arms embargo in 1982.[178] Following Aziz's visit to Moscow in June 1982, nearly 300 ICP members were released from Iraqi prisons. At around the same time, the Soviet Union began supplying Iraq with T-54 tanks, MiGs, and anti-aircraft missiles. In December 1985, Hussein, alongside Foreign Minister Aziz and the Minister of State for Military Affairs, Abd al-Jabbar Shenshall travelled to Moscow to help secure further supplies.[179] In April 1986, Baghdad held the 16th session of the Permanent Soviet-Iraqi Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technological Cooperation held in Baghdad. The Iraqi delegation was led by Iraq's Minister of Industry and Mineral Resources. The two sides signed a trade agreement and reached an informal contract for economic, scientific, and technological cooperation, much of which helped Iraq's effort to build an indigenous military production capability. On June 13, 1986, the USSR and Iraq signed a long-term trade agreement after a visit by a Baathist delegation to Moscow. In February 19, 1987, Foreign Minister Aziz again came to Moscow to seek greater security cooperation and assistance. Therefore, despite Moscow's efforts to stop the Iran-Iraq war during the early 1980s, within a few years the Soviet Union had once again become a supporter of the Iraqi military. Soviet actions and attitudes seemed to have a limited impact on Iraqi threat perceptions. Furthermore, contrary to the defence dependence view, in the long-run it was the supplier (Moscow) that was brought over to sharing the threat perception of its military recipient (Baghdad), not the other way around.

Much like Moscow's position on the Iran-Iraq War, during the 1980s Washington also maintained a policy of neutrality but tilted more towards Iraq. While the United States never directly sold any arms to Iraq during this decade,[180] it undertook a number of policies meant to

[178] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein,* 159.
[179] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 241-247.
[180] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 44.

enhance Iraqi military power. Firstly, Washington sent a considerable amount of dual-purpose equipment to Baghdad -- including trucks and helicopters that were officially for civilian purposes but were used by the Iraqi military -- and shared important military intelligence with the Baathist leadership on Iranian troop movements.[181] Secondly, Washington provided a vast amount of economic aid, including allocations from the U.S. Department of Commerce during the late 1980s that reached several billions of dollars per year by the late 1980s, thereby freeing up the Iraqi government's budget for higher military spending.[182] Thirdly, America's diplomatic support played an important role in influencing Iraq's other military suppliers (such as France, United Kingdom, West Germany, Canada, and other countries) to transfer arms to Iraq.[183]

Bruce Jentleson, who conducted interviews with top U.S. officials and reviewed declassified documents pertaining to American policies towards Iraq during the 1980s, argues that America's tilt towards Iraq was driven by a variety of interests, which included: (1) an American desire to counter-balance the Iranian and Soviet threats in the Gulf, (2) the belief that Washington could turn Iraq into "a force for regional stability and peace," and (3) the perception that there were economic benefits to be gained from trade with Baghdad.[184] Nevertheless, despite the American drive to strengthen Iraqi military capabilities during the 1980s, by 1990 Iraq had come to pose as great a threat to international security as Iran and was still intent on

[181] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 44; Steven Hurst, *The United States and Iraq Since 1979: Hegemony, Oil and War* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 45.
[182] Resnick, "Strange Bedfellows," 163. See also Hurst, *The United States and Iraq Since 1979*, 44.
[183] Hurst, *The United States and Iraq Since 1979*, 45.
[184] Bruce Jentleson, "Iraq: The Failure of a Strategy," in Richard Nelson and Kenneth Weisbrode, *Reversing Relations with Former Adversaries: U.S. Foreign Policy after the Cold War* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998), 139.

acquiring a nuclear weapon,[185] continued to proliferate of chemical and biological weapons, and supported international terrorism despite pressures by Washington to stop.[186]

2. Foreign Military Presence

During the 1980s, various countries accused Baghdad of allowing a foreign military presence on Iraqi territory. However, the nature of these accusations changed from the preceding decade. For example, on January 13, 1980 *Tehran International Service*, argued that "the Baathist regime has invited the United States to establish military bases in Iraq, using the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan as an excuse."[187] Meanwhile, American policymakers argued that Iraq was going to allow the Soviet Union to host an FMP on Iraqi territory in exchange for external protection. For example, Dennis Ross hinted in 1981 that Moscow was trying to build a foreign military base in Iraq:

> A Soviet presence in Iraq or the Soviet ability to use Iraqi bases would greatly enhance the Soviet threat to the northern Gulf area and Saudi Arabia. Iraqi bases would bring these targets within range of Soviet tactical aircraft. They could be used to protect the forward deployed Soviet airborne divisions, cover the Soviet land-routes through Iran and air and land routes to Saudi Arabia, and, also bomb potential land and sea entry points for U.S. or other forces in the Gulf/Arabian peninsula.[188]

Establishing a foreign military base on Iraqi territory during the 1980s could have made sense from an Iraqi strategic perspective. Since the fundamental balance of power between Iran and Iraq was tilted towards Iran (a country that was between three and five times the latter's size

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[185] For example, the SHC contains a letter from Dr. 'Abd-el Qadeer Khan (i.e. AQ Khan) to Iraq's Military Industrialization Commission "regarding the possibility of helping Iraq to establish a project to enrich Uranium and manufacture a nuclear weapon." In the letter, AQ Khan offered to give Iraq "projects designs for a nuclear bomb." See SH-MICN-D-000-741, "Correspondence between the MIC and the Petro Chemical Group Regarding a Letter from A.Q. Khan Offering Assistance in Developing Iraq's Nuclear Weapons Program," October 6, 1990.
[186] See Resnick, "Strange Bedfellows" and Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*.
[187] FBIS-MEA-80-009-S, "Iraqi 'Assistance' to U.S." *Tehran International Service* (January 13, 1980.) Supplement number 12.
[188] Ross, "Soviet Threats to the Persian Gulf," 177.

in terms of population, territorial size, and economic output), hosting a superpower's military on Iraqi territory could have provided Baghdad with an important external protector. And, given the geostrategic importance of Iraq, had Baghdad asked for an external power to base its military on Iraqi soil, it possibly could have received it. Nevertheless, throughout the 1980s, Baathist leaders repeatedly vowed not to accept any FMP on Iraqi territory. Speaking at the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conferences in Islamabad on January 28, 1980, Iraq's Foreign Minister, Sadun Hammadi, stated that, "We reject the great powers' intervention in other states affairs, regardless of any justifications and circumstances… This is the nonaligned principle that we take as the basis of our foreign policy."[189] On February 8, 1980, speaking at a rally in Baghdad, Iraq's President Hussein proposed the *Pan-Arab Charter*.[190] Signifying the degree to which Iraq was opposed to foreign military bases, the Charter's first principle proposed:

> The rejection of the presence in the Arab homeland of any foreign armies and military forces, or any foreign forces and military bases, or any facilities in any form, or under any pretext or cover, or for any reason whatsoever. Any Arab regime that fails to abide by this principle should be isolated and boycotted politically and economically, and its policies should be resisted by all means available.[191]

In the short-run, Iraq's pan-Arab Charter succeeded in rallying the Arab masses, and consequently some Arab governments, in rejecting foreign military bases on their territory. For example, on February 10, 1980, an editorial in Jordan's *Ad-Dustur* journal stated that the Iraqi pan-Arab charter "proceeded from a mature political awareness" and "expressed a realistic and responsible outlook."[192] Bahrain signed the Charter on February 17, 1980.[193] Meanwhile, on the following day, Tripoli stated that "the Libyan Foreign Secretariat has expressed Libya's

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[189] FBIS-MEA-80-021, "Iraqi Foreign Minister's Address," *Baghdad Voice of the Masses* (January 29, 1980.)
[190] FBIS-MEA-80-029, "President Saddam Husayn Proposes Pan-Arab Charter," *Baghdad Voice of the Masses* (February 2, 1980.)
[191] First Principle, *Pan-Arab Charter* (also known as 'The National Declaration of 8 February 1980.')
[192] FBIS-MEA-80-030, "Ad-Dustur Comment," *Amman Ad-Dustur* (February 10, 1980.)
[193] FBIS-MEA-80-035, "Government Approves Iraq's Pan-Arab Charter," *Manama Gulf News Agency* (February 17, 1980.)

satisfaction at the pan-Arab charter announced by Iraq [which] rejects the presence of any foreign military forces or armies in the Arab homeland."[194] Another objective of the charter was to undercut two of Iraq's then-arch enemies and contenders for pan-Arab leadership: Egypt and Syria. In January 1980 Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat agreed to provide facilities for an American military presence in Egypt.[195] Syria, meanwhile, had already began hosting a Soviet military presence on its territory and in October 1980 Damascus signed a Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation with the Soviet Union.[196] Over the next decade Syria came to host three important naval bases for the Soviet Union at Latakia, Tartus, and Ras Shamra. Writing in 1989, Harkavy noted that Tartus became "the primary maintenance facility for Soviet submarines… and the base appears recently to have been upgraded, perhaps to become the home port for the Soviet Fifth Fleet."[197] Undeniably, the Baath Party's rejection of foreign militaries on its territory buttressed the Iraqi Baath Party's credibility in the Arab world and made it a unique contender for pan-Arab leadership during the 1980s.

In the long-run, however, while Iraq did not allow a foreign military base to be established on its territory, Baghdad was not successful in dissuading other Arab governments from doing the opposite. A number of the regimes that signed the pan-Arab charter broke its first principle within a matter of a few years. Libya, for example, allowed the Soviets regular access to ports in Tripoli and Benghazi, and both ports had a Soviet Mediterranean squadron stationed there; Moscow was also reported to be constructing a naval base in Badria.[198] Meanwhile, by the late 1980s, the United States had come to station a homeport at Al Jufair in

[194] FBIS-MEA-80-034, "Foreign Secretariat Approves Pan-Arab Charter," *Tripoli Jana* (February 18, 1980.)
[195] FBIS-MEA-80-017, "Al-Akhbar Justifies Offering Military Facilities to U.S.," *Cairo Al-Akhbar* (January 11, 1980.)
[196] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 38.
[197] Harkavy, *Bases Abroad*, 55.
[198] Harkavy, *Bases Abroad*, 54.

Bahrain; this military installation consisted of four destroyers and provided the U.S. military personnel with "communications, storage, barracks, berth, hangars, [and] co-use of adjacent airfield [and] re-supply of Indian Ocean task force."[199] Additionally, at Riyadh's request, from September 30, 1980 and until the end of the Iran-Iraq War, an estimated 300 U.S. military personnel manned an AWACS base at Dhahran Air Force Base in Saudi Arabia "to provide battle management for potential air combat in and around the Persian Gulf."[200] As Cordesman and Wagner note, the American military presence "allowed Saudi Arabia and the U.S. to obtain long-range air defence and maritime surveillance, and a major command and data display centre was set up in an underground bunker at Dhahran. This deployment later became the nucleus of all the U.S. air surveillance capability in the region."[201] Thus, despite Baghdad's attempt to convince regimes in the region to remove all foreign military presence in the Middle East, many Arab states (especially Iraq's neighbours) opted to seek foreign external protection from either the United States or the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, contrary to predictions by defence dependence theory, Iraq itself had remained free of FMPs despite being the largest importer of arms in the region during this decade.

3. Military Balance of Power

The role of the great powers during the Iran-Iraq War has been a subject of much academic literature.[202] Part of the narrative that emerged was that the Iraqi political leadership was naïve

[199] Harkavy, *Bases Abroad*, 46. See also Martha Wenger and Dick Anderson, "The Gulf War," *MERIP Middle East Report*, No. 148, Re-Flagging the Gulf (September - October, 1987), 23-26; Robert Johnson, "The Persian Gulf in U.S. Strategy: A Sceptical View," *International Security*, Vol. 14, No. 1 (Summer 1989), 122-160.
[200] Harkavy, *Bases Abroad*, 86.
[201] Cordesman and Wagner, *The Lessons of Modern War*, 103.
[202] For a few examples, see Adam Tarock, *The Superpowers' Involvement in the Iran-Iraq War* (Nova Publishers, 1998); Cowley*, Guns, Lies, and Spies*; Styan, *France and Iraq*; Phythian, *Arming Iraq*; Timmerman, *The Death Lobby.*

vis-à-vis its relationship with its military suppliers. Numerous analysts of the Iran-Iraq War have posited that Baathist leaders were drawn into a quagmire by the great powers, who sought to create a rough equality in the military balance of power between Iraq and Iran as a way to extent the war and weaken both states.[203] In particular, some sources claim that Kissinger's alleged quote about the Iran-Iraq War - "It is a pity that both sides cannot lose" – encapsulated the policies of the United States and other great powers, which aimed to make sure neither side emerged as a clear winner from the war.[204]

In fact, Iraqi leaders themselves openly stated during the Iran-Iraq War that they believed the great powers were interested in prolonging the war.[205] For example, a 1984 report by the Iraqi Mission to the United Nations, circulated within the Iraqi Ministry of Foreign Affairs, cited American participants in a conference in Washington DC as saying that "the outcome [of the war] must be 'No one victorious, no one defeated.'"[206] The Iraqi report also noted that one of the audience members reported that Washington must "stick to our previous position of not letting any of the [parties win in the conflict] because it is going to be a great danger to the countries of the region if […] one party ends up victorious."[207]

Despite remaining suspicious of American intentions, the Baath Party calculated that it had no better alternative than to continue to maintain diplomatic, economic, and (to a more limited extent) military ties with Washington, while pressuring American policymakers to stop

[203] For example, see Kamran Mofid, *The Economic Consequences of the Gulf War* (London: Routledge, 1990.)
[204] For example, see Gregory Gause, *Oil Monarchies: Domestic and Security Challenges in the Arab Gulf States*, (New York: Council on Foreign Relations Press, 1994), 190. During the 1990s, U.S. security policy toward Iran and Iraq became known as "dual containment." See Gause, "The Illogic of Dual Containment," *Foreign Affairs* (March/April 1994).
[205] For example, see Dilip Hiro, *The Longest War: the Iran-Iraq Military Conflict* (Routledge: New York, 1991).
[206] SH-MISC-D-000-887, "Correspondence from the Iraqi Permanent Mission of the United Nations containing statements by Henry Kissinger regarding the Iran-Iraq War," March 1984 to March 1988.
[207] SH-MISC-D-000-887, 1984 to 1988.

their support of Iran.[208] During the mid-1980s, U.S.-Iraqi security cooperation allowed the Iraqi government to receive 60 Hughes helicopters, $4.7 billion in American commodity loans, and to purchase an estimated $500 million in radio, graphic terminals, machine tools, computer mapping, and other sensitive technologies that were ultimately used for military purposes.[209] In addition, Hewlett-Packard sold advanced computers to Iraq; an Atlanta branch of Italian government-owned *Banca Nazionale Del Lavoro* (BCCI) provided $5 billion of loans and credits to the Iraqi government; and the U.S. Commerce Department provided $1 billion annually for food credit, which aided the Iraqi war effort.[210] Finally, the United States provided important satellite imagery to Iraq's intelligence services about Iranian troop movements during the war.[211]

In addition to American support, Iraq also continued to import weapons and military-related products from the Soviet Union, France, and Arab countries. Notable arms treaties included a $4.5 billion (1990 figure) purchase of 200 T-55s, 300 T-62s, and 600 T-72s from the Soviet Union and $600 million in ammunition from Egypt in 1984, a $1.5 billion purchase from France of 24 Mirage F-1 EQ5/6 in 1985, and large scale purchases of MiG29s, Su-25 fighter aircraft, and numerous Mi-24 assault helicopters from Moscow in 1986, at a cost of approximately $5 billion.[212] The table below illustrates the large scale growth in the inventory of the Iraqi armed forces between the late 1970s and mid-1980s.

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[208] See the Iran-Iraq files at George Washington University's (GWU) National Security Archive's (NSA). GWU NSA Document 7, "Iraq Ministry of Foreign Affairs Letter from Saddoun Hammadi to Alexander M. Haig, Jr. [Iraqi Minister for Foreign Affairs Praise for Visit of Under Secretary Draper]," April 15, 1981.
[209] Brune, *America and the Iraqi crisis, 1990-1992*, 27.
[210] Brune, *America and the Iraqi crisis, 1990-1992*, 27.
[211] Interview with former Major General Mizher Rashid al-Tarfa al-Ubaydi, *Saddam's Generals*, 108. Tarfa served in the Iran section of the general command intelligence cell between 1980 and 1987 and later became deputy director of the Iran section in the GMID.
[212] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 532-533.

Iraqi Armed Forces (Selected Weapons), 1979/1980-1984/1985

	1979/1980	1984/5
Tanks	1,900	4,920
Combat aircraft	339	580
Helicopters	231	381
AFVs	1,500	3,200

Source: Mofid, *The Economic Consequences of the Gulf War*, 88.

On November 13, 1986, U.S. President Ronald Reagan publicly acknowledged that the United States had been secretly selling weapons to Iran during the preceding eighteen months.[213] Washington's covert transfer of arms to Tehran in 1985 and 1986, which was referred to in the Western press as the "Iran-Contra affair"[214] or "Irangate" -- Saddam referred to it as "Irangate" in numerous meetings[215] -- involved the transfer of over two thousand TWO missiles and 200 spare parts for Hawk missile batteries in exchange for freeing American hostages held in Lebanon by Hezbollah, a terrorist groups with ties to Tehran.[216] In the years leading up to the incident U.S.-Iraqi relations had improved considerably. By 1984, the United States was providing Iraq with financial assistance, tactical intelligence, and dual-use equipment.[217] In meetings with U.S. officials, Iraqi leaders expressed satisfaction with Washington's initiative to discourage its allies from selling arms to Iran, a State Department-led effort that begun in late

[213] U.S. Government, "[Reagan's] Address to the Nation on the Iran Arms and Contra Aid Controversy," *Ronald Reagan Presidential Library and Museum*, November 13, 1986.
[214] The incident was referred to as the "Iran-Contra" affair because the money which was paid by Iran for American weapons was diverted to "off-the-shelf" accounts that ultimately financed U.S. covert aid of contra rebels fighting the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua. See Theodore Draper, *A Very Thin Line: The Iran Contra Affairs* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1991), 519-550.
[215] See for example SH-SHTP-D-000-557, "Meeting between Saddam Hussein and senior advisors regarding Iraq's historical rights to Kuwait and the U.S. position on international issues," December 15, 1990.
[216] Malcolm Byrne, *Iran-Contra: Reagan's Scandal and the Unchecked Abuse of Presidential Power* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2014), 36-40; Robert Mason, *Foreign Policy in Iran and Saudi Arabia: Economics and Diplomacy in the Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 22.
[217] Bryan Gibson, *Covert Relationship: American Foreign Policy, Intelligence, and the Iran-Iraq War, 1980-1988* (Oxford: Praeger, 2010), 120.

1983 and was known as "Operation Staunch."[218] In a December 1983 meeting with Iraqi Under Secretary Mohammed al-Sahhaf, U.S. Ambassador William Eagleton noted that Sahhaf was "pleased" with Washington's renewed activism in the region, including its effort to stop arms sales to Iran.[219]

Reagan's admission in 1986 that the United States had at least from the start of 1985 covertly sold arms to Iran contradicted these developments and fed into Iraq's earlier suspicions that the United States was pursuing a strategy to make sure that "neither side should win."[220] In the ensuing months Baathist officials held at least six high-level meetings to discuss the implications of Irangate.[221] Two sentiments were frequently repeated by Baathist officials during those discussions. Firstly, Iraqi leaders maintained that American actions "[are] close to what we expected."[222] In a meeting two days after the revelations of the Iran-Contra affair, Saddam stated that the revelation of U.S. covert military aid to Iran "is no surprise to us"[223] and that "I was not convinced, not for a single day, that America does not provide Iran with weapons."[224] In another meeting in the same month, Iraqi officials reiterated that "we were not surprised" by America's actions.[225] A second strain that is evident in post-Irangate Iraqi government meetings is the visceral anger which Baathist officials felt by Washington's betrayal.

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[218] Gibson, *Covert Relationship*, 117; Byrne, *Iran-Contra*, 34.
[219] GWU NSA Document 35, "United States Interests Section in Iraq Cable from William L. Eagleton, Jr. to the Department of State, 'Follow-up on Rumsfeld Visit to Baghdad,'" December 26, 1983.
[220] Iraq's suspicion that the United States was pursuing a strategy that entailed all sides losing in the Iran-Iraq War is evident in SH-MISC-D-000-887, 1984.
[221] Hal Brands, "Making the Conspiracy Theorist a Prophet: Covert Action and the Contours of United States-Iraq Relations," *International History Review*, Vol. 33, No. 3 (September 2011), 397.
[222] SH-SHTP-A-000-556, "Saddam and His Inner Circle Discussing Iran-Contra Revelations," November 15, 1986.
[223] SH-SHTP-A-000-556, 1986.
[224] SH-SHTP-A-000-555, "Saddam and the Revolutionary Command Council discussing Reagan's speech to the nation on Iran Contra Revelations (part 2)," 15 November 1986
[225] SH-SHTP-A-000-638, "Meeting between Saddam Hussein and the Revolutionary Command Council regarding President Ronald Reagan's speech on the U.S. relationship with Iran," late November 1986.

Saddam referred to Irangate as a "stab in the back" by the United States.[226] In a meeting soon after the affair's revelations, several RCC members - notably Saddam, Taha Yassin, and Hassan - called American policies "conspiratorial," Iran-Contra a "conspiracy against Iraq," and Irangate as "a form of terrorism."[227] While RCC members maintained that they were "not surprised by Irangate," they also viewed Irangate as a new level of "depravity [and] moral decay" by the United States.[228]

Regardless of how Baathist officials felt inside the halls of power in Baghdad, outwardly they made a strategic choice to portray Iraq as the more pragmatic and cool-headed actor in the Iran-Iraq war. In a meeting on November 15, 1986, when an RCC member urged Saddam to develop "a clear action plan to expose the American scandal on the international level," Saddam responded that "regardless of how enthusiastic we are, we have to deal with [Irangate] ultimately in a confident, calm manner," and reiterated that "we have to be calm about [Irangate]... and take things within the proper perspective."[229] This sentiment was echoed by another RCC member, Taha Yassin Ramadan, who highlighted the importance of discussing Irangate amongst Baathist leaders in an objective manner "so that we may know how to behave calmly in front of our people, the U.S., the international community, Iran, and with regard to the war."[230] Ultimately, the Iraqis adopted a strategy aimed at undermining Iran, rather than the United States: "Our talk should be [aimed at] Iran's image… more than giving weight to the amount of American aid." [231] In addition, Baathist leaders sought to use Iran-Contra to brandish Iraq's stance as an independent state. RCC member Taha Yassin Ramadan argued that Iraq should "give a priority"

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[226] SH-SHTP-D-000-609, "Meeting between Saddam Hussein and Ba'ath Party Cabinet ministers regarding the Iran-Contra Affair and American foreign policy, including America's relationship with Israel and Iran," early 1987.
[227] SH-SHTP-A-000-555, 1986.
[228] SH-SHTP-A-000-556, 1986.
[229] SH-SHTP-A-000-556, 1986.
[230] SH-SHTP-A-000-556, 1986.
[231] Taha Ramadan in SH-SHTP-A-000-556, 1986.

to highlighting the hypocrisy of Iran, which while "identifying itself by hatred for America" was covertly cooperating with the West.[232] Taha argued that exposing Iran's hypocrisy "improves the standing of our nation, asserts that it is on the right path, is independent, and deals with powerful nations with a high measure of equality which serves its own interests."[233]

In accordance with Ramadan's suggestions, on November 15, 1986 the Iraqi government published a press-release which "strongly denounced" American-Iranian cooperation. [234] Considering the sense of betrayal Iraqi leaders expressed in post-Irangate meetings, the tone of the statement was largely moderate. It condemned not the United States as a whole, but only the "act" of transferring weapons to Iran: "Iraq has strongly denounced the U.S. administration's *act* of supplying the Iranian regime with quantities of military hardware."[235] Iraqi leaders reserved the stronger language for Tehran. The Iraqi press-release stated that the Iran-Contra affair "demonstrates the lowliness of the Iranian regime, which is founded on charlatanism, shows [Iran's] political and military bankruptcy, and confirms the strength of the Iraqi position in its political, ethical, and military aspects."[236] As Brands and Palkki write, in having such a "subdued diplomatic response" and "taking a moderate public line" towards Washington, Iraqi leaders hoped "to shore up U.S. backing for Baghdad."[237]

Although in public Baathist officials maintained a relatively "calm" posture, Irangate undoubtedly confirmed their conspiratorial mind-set and "severely eroded [Baghdad's] minimal confidence [in Washington.]"[238] In a July 1987 meeting, Iraqi officials stated that the

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[232] Ramadan in SH-SHTP-A-000-556, 1986.
[233] Ramadan in SH-SHTP-A-000-556, 1986.
[234] FBIS-MEA-86-221, "Government 'Strongly Denounces' U.S.-Iran 'Deal,'" *Baghdad INA* (November 15, 1986.) Emphasis added.
[235] FBIS-MEA-86-221, 1986. Emphasis added.
[236] FBIS-MEA-86-221, 1986.
[237] Hal Brands and David Palkki, "'Conspiring Bastards': Saddam Hussein's Strategic View of the United States," *Diplomatic History*, Vol. 36, Issue 3 (June 2012), 643.
[238] Brands and Palkki, "'Conspiring Bastards,'" 42.

"superpowers" (primarily the United States) were out "to downsize this country [Iraq] or give it a lesson… or break it psychologically."[239] Similarly, in a May 1988 meeting at the end of the Iran-Iraq War, Iraqi leaders claimed that "America conspired with Britain against us in al-Faw. They cooperated with the Iranians in capturing al-Faw."[240] At the same meeting, Baathist officials stated that now that it had essentially emerged victorious from the war with Iran, Iraq has "to be aware of America and its satellites and tools more than the Iranians. Because they [the Americans] are now like a police force, protecting Iran, and anything they find out about Iraq will be delivered to Iran."[241] The 2004 *Duelfer Report,* which is based on interviews with Iraqi government officials and research of captured Baathist files, notes that "after Irangate, Saddam believed that Washington could not be trusted and that it was out to get him."[242]

Despite the lasting impression that Irangate left on the Iraqi regime, Baathist officials continued to cooperate with the United States for the remainder of the 1980s out of necessity. Baghdad's pragmatic public stance paid important dividends over the next few years. In 1987 Washington lent Baghdad over $1 billion in Commodity Credit Corporation (CCC) credits and loosened high-tech exports to Iraq. In 1988 it placed 60 U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency analysts in Iraq to provide Baghdad with targeting information on Iranian command-and-control facilities and logistical targets.[243] In the first seven months of 1990 (just prior to the U.S. invasion of Kuwait), roughly 32.2 percent of Iraqi oil went to the United States, account for

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[239] SH-SHTP-A-000-733, "Saddam and His Advisers Discussing UN Security Council Resolutions and a Possible Ceasefire during the Iran-Iraq War," July 19, 1987.
[240] SH-PDWN-D-000-730, "Transcript of an Armed Forces General Command meeting regarding the Iran-Iraq War, al-Fao, and military and diplomatic aspects of the war," May 26, 1988.
[241] SH-PDWN-D-000-730, 1988
[242] Central Intelligence Agency*, Comprehensive Report of the Special Advisor to the DCI on Iraq's WMD,* September 30, 2004 <www.cia.gov/library/reports/general-repors-1/iraq_wmd_2004.>
[243] Brands, "Making the Conspiracy Theorist a Prophet," 398.

nearly 9 percent of U.S. oil imports.[244] Even up until July 1990 (just months before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait), the U.S.-Iraqi Business Forum – which facilitated the transfer of high-tech American exports to Iraq – included well-known military, heavy-industry, and oil companies such as Bell Helicopter Textron, Lockheed, United Technologies Corporation, Exxon International, Bethlen, Brown & Root (later KBR), Catterpillar, and General Motors. As the table below shows, by the end of the 1980s Iraq had about ten times as many main battle tanks, armoured infantry fighting vehicles, and armoured personnel carriers, and between four and five times as many towed field artillery pieces, self-propelled field artillery pieces, and combat aircraft as did Iran. In all of the major categories of conventional weapons (i.e. main battle tanks, combat aircraft, and so on), Iraq also had a quantitative edge over Israel by 1990.[245]

Iraq-Iran Military Balance, 1989-1990[246]

	Iraq	**Iran**
Total Armed Forces	1,000,000	604,500
Army	955,000	305,000*
Main Battle Tanks	5,500	500
Reconnaissance Vehicles	600	100+
Armoured Infantry Fighting Vehicles	1,000	100+
Armoured Personnel Carriers	7,100	500+
Towed Field Artillery Pieces	3,000	800+
Self-Propelled Field Artillery Pieces	500	140+
Multiple Rocket Launchers	200	Unknown
Combat aircraft	689	185 (est. 72 in service)

**Estimated to include approximately 250,000 conscripts.*

[244] Peter Sluglett, "Iraq Under Siege: Politics, Society and Economy, 1990-2003," 17, in Mokhtar Lamani and Bessma Momani (editors), *From Desolation to Reconstruction: Iraq's Troubled Journey*, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010.
[245] IISS, *Military Balance 1990*, 106-107. Importantly, however, Iraq did not have a nuclear capability, which Israel did.
[246] Pelletiere and Johnson, *Lessons Learned: the Iran-Iraq War*, 3; IISS, *Military Balance 1990*, 99-101.

INTERPRETATION OF EVIDENCE, 1968-1990

Threat Perceptions

Mutual Threat Perceptions?

This chapter argued that although some of Baghdad's military supporters (primarily Moscow and Washington) tried to modify Iraqi threat perception, the Baathist leadership was ultimately the arbiter of which state and non-state actors posed the greatest threat to Iraq's national security. The Iraqi approach to security cooperation was exemplified in a speech by Hussein during the late 1970s: "Even though the weapons' suppliers are friendly countries, we should not believe that they agree with all our objectives and ambitions… we must prepare ourselves [in ways suitable to our aims], which may not be suitable to the strategy of the weapons' exporting countries."[247] Although suppliers were not able to manipulate the Baathist leadership's threat perceptions, they were able to have some impact on the circumstances in which Iraqi leaders made their decisions, e.g. by providing military aid to state and non-state actors which were already at war with the Iraqi government. As Hussein noted during a conference in June 1975, the "Kurdish cause, while it is a local case as it looks [on the surface], it is international regarding its intentions and final planning."[248] The "international dimension" meant that Kurdish parties will not only seek Western support but "will [also] try to broaden their Arab alliances [and also gain] the support of the Soviet Union and socialist countries once more."[249] Baathist leaders therefore had a very pragmatic understanding of their relationships with military suppliers. Later, when Moscow reached out to Tehran at the start of the Iran-Iraq War, Iraqi

[247] SH-RVCC-D-000-805, "Speech of Comrade Saddam Hussein in the meeting of the Planning Council on 4/12/1977 about the Manufacturing of Electronic Devices," April 12, 1977.
[248] Hussein quoted in SH-MISC-D-000-508, 1975.
[249] Hussein in SH-MISC-D-000-508, 1975.

officials recognised that the Kremlin had its own legitimate interests in trying to improve relations with Iran; rather than breaking relations with the Soviet Union, Iraq adopted a policy of "quiet diplomacy" with Soviet leaders (i.e. not mentioning Moscow's support of Iran in diplomatic discussions.)[250]

Another misperception about Iraqi Baathist behaviour was that it acted rashly in the way it approached its threats. For example, Karsh writes that in 1980 "the Iraqi leadership hurried to take advantage of [the political turmoil in Tehran] to pre-empt and frustrate the recovery of the Iranian armed forces from their post-revolutionary debacle."[251] As was illustrated above, however, the Iraqi leadership devoted about a year-and-a-half to carefully choosing the right course(s) of action to deal with Khomeini's Iran. It is also important to remember that during the late 1970s, the Iraqi military was primarily preparing for a potential conflict with Israel.[252] Therefore, preparing for a potential military conflict with Iran (which in 1980 had a population about ten times Israel's size),[253] required enhanced efforts at both internal planning and external outreach to neighbours and global powers which could supply Iraq with military and economic aid.[254]

Baghdad's military suppliers often tried to understand which countries Iraqi leaders perceived as threats. While superficially the Baathist regime's primary threats were Iran, Israel, and the United States,[255] internal documents reveal that Iraqi threat perception was driven more by strategic consideration than ideological divides. One key example is provided in a 1986 Iraqi

[250] Naim Haddad in SH-SHTP-A-000-711, 1981.
[251] Efraim Karsh, *The Iran-Iraq War* (New York: Rosen Publishing, 2009), 19.
[252] For example, one intelligence report indicates that the Iraqi military was still very much occupied with the "Israeli threat" as close to a year a year before the invasion. See SH-AADF-D-001-001, 1979-1980.
[253] World Bank, 2014.
[254] Schofield, *Militarization and War*, 138.
[255] For example, see "Ba'ath Official Denounces Kissinger, Zionists, Iran," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (March 21, 1974.)

intelligence document (included in the Appendix) which is entitled, "On the Factors that Determine the Priorities of IIS [Iraqi Intelligence Services'] Work Outside Iraq."[256] The document classifies Iraq's neighbours as Tier I countries, i.e. those that are the biggest potential threat and which deserve most of the IIS's attention -- regardless of whether they are "Arab or foreign" -- because "their power is always a direct influence over Iraq's national security, due to their conjoining geographical borders with the country, and because of their power over the control of Iraq's international air, sea, and land gateways."[257] A second determinant for a country being classified as a Tier I Priority Country was if it had declared "outright hostility towards Iraq."[258] Despite the Iraqi government's reputation for its "anti-imperialist" rhetoric and its attempts to frame Iraq as the leader of "pan-Arabism," most of the countries that the Baathist regime classified as Tier 1 were Arab states and the Palestinian territories. Arab countries were most proximate to Iraq, and many of them were either overtly against Iraq (e.g. Syria and Libya during the 1980s) or in competition with it (e.g. Saudi Arabia and Egypt.) Baghdad's threat perceptions were therefore formed by practical realities (such as other states' ability to attack Iraq's sovereignty) rather than ideological considerations.

Foreign Military Basing and External Protection

Between 1968 and 1990, the Soviet Union provided 68.4% of Iraq's $49.2 billion worth of military imports.[259] Despite being Iraq's dominant military supplier during both the 1970s and 1980s, Baghdad did not allow Moscow to maintain a foreign military presence on its territory.

[256] SH-IISX-D-000-365, "Study issued by the Special Office of the Iraqi Intelligence Services regarding factors that determine the priorities of IIS work outside Iraq," January 1986 to June 1986.
[257] SH-IISX-D-000-365, 1986.
[258] SH-IISX-D-000-365, 1986.
[259] SIPRI, *Iraq's Military Imports*, 1968-1990.

As Smolansky points out, in the period between 1968 and 1990, "the Moscow-Baghdad relationship failed to produce the sorts of tangible benefits (e.g., bases or dependable access to resupply or repair facilities) to which Soviet military planners no doubt originally aspired."[260] Similarly, the Baathist leadership did not allow other important military supporters, such as France or the United States, to maintain a foreign military presence on its soil during this period.[261] Many of the countries in the region followed a pattern of allowing military bases or naval ports to their primary military suppliers. This was true in terms of American bases in Bahrain throughout the 1980s, when the United States was Manama's primary military supplier during that decade;[262] with Soviet bases in Egypt during the late 1960s and early 1970s and Soviet naval bases in Syria during the 1980s, when Moscow provided most of Syria's $16 billion military imports;[263] and in terms of Soviet signals intelligence and air facilities in Libya,[264] three-quarters of whose imports came from Moscow.[265]

The key difference between Iraq and other recipient states that were willing to stage foreign military troops during those decades (such as Egypt pre-1972 and Syria during the 1980s) was not the nature of the political regime itself[266] or even its oil wealth,[267] but rather the strategic choices and policies which the Iraqi government took. According to the logic of Iraq's Baathist leadership, seeking external protection would -- despite the short-term benefit of

[260] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 290.
[261] During the 1980s Iraq itself tried – unsuccessfully – to gain military bases in Yemen, Somalia, and Djibouti. See interview with retired Lieutenant General Abid Mohammed al-Kabi in Woods et al., *Saddam's Generals*, 168-169
[262] SIPRI, *Bahrain's Military Imports*, 1980-1990.
[263] SIPRI, *Syria's Military Imports*, 1980-1990.
[264] Harkavy, *Bases Abroad*, 77, 91, 207.
[265] SIPRI, *Libya's Military Imports*, 1980-1990.
[266] For example, during this time period Iraq largely shared the same Baathist ideology as did Syria, but their policies differed markedly. For a comparative study of Iraq and Syria during this period, see Mufti, *Sovereign Creations*, chapters 12-13.
[267] For example, Saudi Arabia's had larger oil revenues during this period but spent much less on military imports than did Iraq.

providing external protection to Iraq -- in the long run result in the partition of Iraq by the great military powers. At a meeting with Iraqi military officers discussing arms imports during the Iran-Iraq War, Hussein expressed this perception in the following terms:

> The great countries, because of their strategic competition, always favour partition [of countries] because each part does not guarantee at one point what each part guarantees when they are united… Frequently, the uncertainty over which direction the proposed new country will take tempts the superpowers to fight over it, each hoping it will fall under his sphere of influence. As each camp tries to pull the proposed new country under its influence, the new country is pulled apart and the concept of unity usually dies in the process.[268]

Perhaps unique to other Arab governments, the Iraqi Baathist regime believed that war could improve other spheres of a nation's development, such as economic growth, political unity and independence, and scientific progress. For example, in 1978 Hussein told Iraqi military officers that Israelis were "scientifically advanced" because they had skills and experience "in setting up the entire state for war purposes."[269] Similarly, Baathist leaders wanted Iraqis themselves to gain experience in "administrating the state for war purposes," which they believed was vital to Iraq's long-term development. In 1983, Hussein described his understanding of the economic progress and scientific advancement that Western countries experienced following the Second World War, which helps shed light on the Iraqi Baathist view of the Iran-Iraq War:

> *Hussein*: ... War, in spite of its consequences, brings with it many scientific advances.
> *Unidentified Iraqi Official*: A great economical and scientific boom took place in Japan, Germany, and Italy after the war.
> *Hussein*: [In fact,] *all* scientific advances in the world occurred during and after World War I and World War II.[270]

[268] Hussein in SH-SHTP-A-000-627, "Saddam and Senior Military officials discussing arms imports and other issues related to the Iran-Iraq War," circa late 1983- early 1984.
[269] SH-PDWN-D-000-341, "Transcript of a Speech Given by Saddam Hussein on 'The Role of the Iraqi Armed Forces in the Arab-Zionist Conflict' at al-Bakr University," June 3, 1978.
[270] SH-SHTP-A-000-627, 1983- 1984.

Although the Baathist leadership did not provide concrete evidence of how going to war would "awaken" the Iraqi or Arab nation,[271] the belief that the Iran-Iraq War would contribute to the "development of the Arab nation and its civilisation"[272] remained a consistent theme in Baathist thinking throughout the 1980s. For example, a few months into the start of the war Hussein told the Iraqi cabinet that Iraq had been "asleep for 712 years" but that "nowadays the Iraqi [citizen] has begun to awaken from this slumber and his true qualities are showing."[273] Several years later Hussein told senior Baathist military officials that "historical events like war may have a good outcome in the long run [i.e. economic progress, scientific development, combat experience] even though present consequences are harmful."[274] In the same conversation Hussein added that "countries learn how to fight by fighting in actual wars" and that "experience we are gaining from the war will stay intact after the war."[275]

Baathist leaders were also flexible enough to modify their stance when doing so benefited them. For example, when the great powers intervened in the Persian Gulf during the Tanker War phase of the Iran-Iraq War, the Baathist leadership mostly remained supportive of external involvement in the region. Given the relative weakness of Iraq's navy in comparison with the Iranian navy, the presence of foreign ships in the Gulf aided Baghdad's war effort since the great powers were largely on Iraq's side. And, because it was not technically stationed on Iraq's territory or its coastline, foreign naval forces allowed Baghdad to maintain enough distance to technically not

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[271] While Iraqi leaders did not provide evidence for the assumption that war is linked to economic development, some Western scholars have examined the relationship between the two, including John Nef, *War and Human Progress: An Essay on the Rise of Industrial Civilization* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968) and Ian Morris, *War! What Is It Good For? Conflict and the Progress of Civilization from Primates to Robots* (Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014.)

[272] Hussein in SH-SHTP-A-001-229, "Saddam and Military Officials Discussing the Iran-Iraq War and Iraqi Military Capabilities," October 30, 1980. Emphasis added.

[273] FBIS-MEA-80-251, "President Saddam Husayn Addresses Cabinet 24 December," *Baghdad INA* (December 25, 1980.) The "712 year" mark refers roughly to the time when the Abbasid Caliphate, which was centred mostly in Baghdad between 762 and 1258 during the "golden age of Islam."

[274] Hussein in 1980s meeting. SH-SHTP-A-000-627, 1983-1984.

[275] SH-SHTP-A-000-627, 1983- 1984.

be associated with a foreign military presence. As Hussein stated in a discussion with top Iraqi officials in the late 1980s, "we were not the ones who brought the American fleet. However, if either the Americans or the Soviets clash with the Iranians, this will be in our interest."[276]

Regional Military Balance of Power and Arms Races

This chapter has argued that while the military balance was against Iraq during the 1970s, over the next decade the regional military balance had swung towards it and by the end of the 1980s it emerged as the largest military in the Middle East. Following the 1972 Treaty, which initially equalised Iraqi and Iranian military imports, U.S. military aid to Iran and Saudi Arabia during the mid-and-late 1970s tilted the balance of power away from Iraq.[277] During the late 1970s Tehran and Riyadh spent over five times as much on military expenditures per year as did Baghdad.[278] During the 1980s, however, the transfer of arms to the Gulf tilted the balance of power towards Iraq, as Baghdad imported over five times Tehran's amount.[279] The tilt in military imports towards Iraq occurred in large part as a result of Iraq's enhanced diplomatic engagement with its neighbours and the great powers (described in further detail in the next two chapters), through which Baathist leaders were able to convince other states that Iran posed a greater geopolitical threat to the region.[280] As the table below shows, while in each separate decade there was a large imbalance between Iran and Iraq in terms of military imports, over the entire period (1968-1990) both countries imported very similar amounts of military aid.

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[276] SH-SHTP-A-000-561, "Saddam and His Inner Circle Discussing the United Nations, the Soviet Union, and the United States," circa April 1988.
[277] SIPRI, *Iranian and Iraqi Military Imports*, 1968-1980.
[278] Figures based on IISS, *Military Balance 1979*, 94-95.
[279] SIPRI, *Iraqi and Iranian Arms Imports*, 1980-1988.
[280] Iraq's diplomatic outreach to other states during the 1980s is discussed in greater detail in chapter five.

Iraqi and Iranian Military Imports (1990 $ mil.), 1968-1990

	1968-1979	1980-1990	Total
Iraq	$11,599	$31,332	$42,931
Iran	$31,119	$5,971	$37,090

Source: *SIPRI Military Imports*, 1968-1990.

Although the Iraqi leadership could have broken diplomatic relations with the United States following the revelations of Iran-Contra, it continued to exercise as close a security, scientific, and technological cooperation as possible with Washington throughout the remainder of the decade. It did so in the belief that Washington (as well as other suppliers) would ultimately prove more willing to support Iraq more than they would a revolutionary Iran, as encapsulated in the discussion below amongst RCC members on November 13, 1986, the day that the Iran-Contra affair was made public:

> Hussein: … Do you think that they, the Americans, will be closer to achieving their desired influence inside Iran if Iraq collapses? You, as analysts or as outsiders, do you think a weaker Iraq will get the Americans closer [to their goals in the region]? Or will that happen with a strong Iraq?
>
> Ramadan: A strong Iraq, of course.
>
> Khairallah: A strong Iraq, so that Iran is not able to take it over.
>
> Hussein: I say that [the United States] prefers a mildly strong Iraq to a weak Iraq… This is how I see things as an analyst: … an Iraq somewhat strong is better than a weak Iraq, and I say this from the perspective of the Americans.[281]

Ultimately, the Iraqi government's analysis proved correct. Despite the continuing covert transfer of arms and assistance to Iran during the 1980s by numerous powers, both the United States and the wider international community was more interested in seeing that Iraq not be defeated by Iran. In a sense, some policymakers wanted "neither side to win," which meant that

[281] SH-SHTP-A-000-556, 1986.

the Iran-Iraq War would continue and prove costly in human and economic terms. However, in military terms, Iraqi leaders also understood that the longer the war lasted, the more their armed forces would benefit by the influx of weapons. Baghdad's patient and pragmatic approach towards its suppliers in times that it was spurned by them (e.g. the Soviets in the early 1980s, the United States in the mid-1980s) allowed Iraq to sustain its access to foreign arms over the long-run.

CONCLUSIONS

Despite the conventional wisdom that the Iraqi Baathist regime was an ideological actor, internal Iraqi government documents revealed Baghdad's threat perceptions were driven by the same considerations that any country's political or military leadership would look at when deciding whether another country is a threat: political intent, military capability, and geographic proximity of the threat.[282] Security cooperation allowed Iraqi leaders to defeat two threats, one internal (the Kurdish insurgency) and one external (Iran). Furthermore, despite being one of the largest importers of arms during the entire period, Iraq did not allow foreign militaries to maintain airfields, ground forces, missile sites, intelligence and command sites, or any other bases that would constitute an FMP. By the late 1980s the Iraqi military emerged as one of the largest and most effective fighting forces in the Middle East. Ironically, Iraq's unprecedented military position during the Iran-Iraq War made the conspiratorial Baathist regime more paranoid when the conflict was over: as Hussein told his military officers in 1988, "from now on, the

[282] See discussion above and SH-SHTP-A-000-670, "Saddam and His Senior Advisers Discussing Iraq's Foreign Relations and the Policies of Various Countries," October 11, 1990.

superpowers will conspire against us more and I am prepared for that… When Iran weakens and our army gets stronger [then] conspiracies by some countries against us will increase."[283] To an extent this statement proved to be a self-fulfilling prophecy over the next decade.

[283] SH-PDWN-D-000-730, 1988.

CHAPTER FOUR: SUPPLIER INFLUENCE

In the period between 1968 and 1980, the Soviet Union provided 90% of Iraq's conventional arms imports, and 59% of Iraq's military imports between 1980 and 1990.[284] During the 1980s, China and France were the second- and third-largest exporters of military aid to Iraq, providing 16% and 15% of Iraq's total military imports, respectively.[285] Under Mott's model of supplier influence (provided in chapter two), the Soviet Union would be classified as Iraq's sole supplier for the majority of the period between 1968 and 1979; between 1980 and 1990, Moscow oscillated between being a predominant and a competitive supplier to Iraq. According to Mott, sole-supplier and predominant-supplier relationships provide "substantial and even decisive supplier influence through structural dependence that approximates... control [over a recipient's internal and foreign affairs.]"[286] Therefore, one would expect that Moscow exercised a strong level of influence over Baghdad in the period under study, while China and France, as alternative suppliers, would have had limited influence.

[284] SIPRI, *Iraqi Military Imports*, 1968-1980 and 1980-1990.
[285] SIPRI, *Iraqi Military Imports*, 1980-1990.
[286] Mott, *United States Military Assistance*, 9.

This chapter examines empirical evidence from the SHC to test whether these predictions held up in the case of Iraqi military imports between 1968 and 1990. It argues that during most of the period under study (1975-1990), Iraq's primary and secondary suppliers were able to exercise only limited influence over Iraq's foreign, security, and internal policies. The few concessions that the Baathist regime made early on to satisfy suppliers (for example, allowing Soviet-backed Kurdish and Communist parties into the Iraqi government during the early 1970s), were turned around by the late 1970s. Given that Iraq was such a high importer of arms, the findings of this chapter (namely, that supplier influence on Baghdad's policies was low) stand in marked contrast to current literature on arms transfers (particularly defence dependence theory) and policymakers' expectations regarding recipient behaviour.

PART I: 1968 - 1980

1. Foreign Policy

In the period between 1968 and 1980, Moscow and Baghdad were often depicted in official press as close friends and partners. For example, in April 1976, following a visit by the Soviet leadership to Baghdad, the Iraqi central government released an official press statement thanking Moscow for its military, economic, and diplomatic support of the Baathist regime. The following is an excerpt of the official Iraqi statement, which was addressed to the Soviet leadership and published in the official Iraqi press:

> The Iraqi-Soviet friendship and cooperation treaty [of 1972] has played an important role in lifting the relations between Iraq and the Soviet Union to a higher level in the political, economic, cultural and social fields. This has been of the utmost effect for the mutual benefit of the Iraqi and Soviet peoples and the further developing of their joint military relations.
>
> Iraqi-Soviet cooperation, which is governed by the basic principles and ideas of respect for national sovereignty, non-interference in domestic affairs and joint struggle against imperialism, Zionism

> and colonialism, has given the treaty signed between the two anti-imperialist countries an important pillar in the area of their joint relations.
>
> The Baath Party constantly stresses the need of [protecting] the national and pan-Arab stand and of preserving the principles and policy of nonalignment in which the party and its revolution in Iraq believe. In doing so, the party shoulders a great national burden for the sake of safeguarding Arab-Soviet relations…
>
> [Signed] Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, secretary of the Baath Party Regional Command and president of the Iraqi Republic.[287]

To Western audiences, the press release may have seemed like a vindication of the suspicion that Baghdad was firmly in Moscow's sphere of influence.[288] However, part of Iraqi foreign policy during the formative years of the Baathist regime was communicating the message publicly that Iraq and the Soviet Union had close relations. By the time that the Baathist regime came to power in 1968, diplomatic relations with one superpower, the United States, were already broken.[289] In the formative years of the early-and mid-1970s, therefore, part of the Iraqi government's strategy was to make Western powers think that Iraq had the protection of another superpower: the Soviet Union. The Baathist regime needed Moscow's support in this period for two fundamental reasons. The first instance came with the nationalisation of Iraq's oil industry (at the time managed by Western countries) in 1972, an act undertaken by the nascent Baath Party only four years into its rule. From a Baathist perspective, had the Iraqi strategy towards nationalisation been undertaken incorrectly, it could have sparked Western military intervention, similar to the one that followed Egypt's nationalisation of the Suez in 1956, or covert programs aimed at removing government officials in charge, as was the case in Tehran with the overthrow of Mohammad Mosaddegh, whose removal from power was caused at least in part by his support for the nationalisation of Iranian oil. The Baathist leadership issued a nationalisation decree in

[287] FBIS-MEA-76-071, "Al-Bakr, Soviet Leaders Mark Treaty Anniversary," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (April 12, 1976.)
[288] See, for example, Kissinger, *Years of Renewal*, 579-580.
[289] In 1967 the Iraqi government broke diplomatic relations with the United States following American support of Israel during the Six Day War. The Baath Party came to power in the following year.

May 1972 (which was finalised a few months later on June 1), just over one month after signing the Iraqi-Soviet Treaty.[290] The move was essential to sending a signal to Western policymakers that Iraq had an external backer, thus pre-empting a potential foreign intervention. Secondly, Iraq also needed to have a large-scale manufacturer of weapons which could fulfil its growing demand for arms. Only two countries had the potential of playing that role: the Soviet Union and the United States. Given the break in Baghdad's relationship with Washington in 1967 (prior to the Baathist coup), the Iraqi leadership only had one alternative left: to seek Moscow's support.

Nevertheless, despite the public rhetoric of close Iraqi-Soviet relations, documents at the SHC also illustrate that, privately, the Baathist regime's unofficial attitude towards Moscow was very different from the press statements it released. During the same time period in April 1976 (described above), Hasan al-Bakr, Iraq's President, wrote a letter to Hussein, Iraq's then-Vice President, relaying to him that he had chastised the Soviet Ambassador in Baghdad for Moscow's inability to deliver the weapons and spare parts that it had promised to Iraq. According to his account, al-Bakr bluntly told the Soviet Ambassador: "You have not been receptive to supplying us with the few tanks that we have asked for despite our repeated requests on different levels. However, we received solid information that you generously offer various advanced weapons to Kuwait."[291] Al-Bakr's account of his message to the Soviets continued:

> We have chosen your [i.e. Moscow's] friendship by our own free will as we feel that certain goals unite us in the long term. You have accepted that by signing the treaty of friendship between us. Therefore, it is the duty of each side to identify the characteristics of their friend, and you must get to know who we are. *We do not compromise nor can we be subject to any compromise. We do not relent to any pressure whatsoever regardless of its shape and source*.
>
> We had an arms deal with you - which we thank you for - but what is your excuse for not securing the spare parts? Furthermore, the military equipment that you provided has been inoperative for nearly three years. We did not believe Sadat when he referred to the same experience that Egypt had when dealing with Soviet arms deal until we experienced the same thing. I personally being in

[290] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 50-53.
[291] SH-SPPC-D-000-705, "Al-Bakr's account of meeting with Soviet Ambassador as relayed to Saddam Hussein," April 1976. There is no evidence that Al-Bakr actually used that language in his meeting with the Soviet Ambassador.

> charge of administering the Ministry of Defence was presented a few weeks ago with a report indicating the delays by the Soviets, which are both amazing and unfortunate…. [Why would you] withhold weapons from Iraq and supply Kuwait and Libya with the latest weapons? *What is the strategic intention of this policy? Is it intended to offend Iraq?*[292]

The language above highlights that private Iraqi-Soviet diplomacy was very different from the public image that Soviet and Iraqi leaders worked on creating. In fact, the letter above portrays not only the strains in the Iraqi-Soviet relationship during the 1970s, but also a willingness on the part of the Iraqis to be assertive with its military suppliers. It is important to point out, however, that there is no evidence that al-Bakr was actually aggressive in his private discussions with Soviet leaders. The aforementioned note between al-Bakr and Hussein was a private correspondence, and it is possible that he was simply trying to brandish himself as a tough leader. The SHC also contains a private communication from April 1976 between Iraqi and Soviet leaders which illustrate how strained the relationship in private. In particular, what stands out is the fact that it was the issue of military aid – particularly the slow delivery of spare parts and equipment – that caused tensions in Iraqi-Soviet relations. The following is an excerpt of a letter from al-Bakr to Soviet leader Leonid Brezhnev, sent in April 1976:

> [To] The Honourable Comrade Leonid Brezhnev
>
> I received with great gratitude your letter dated 4 APR 1976. …We recognise substantively that wide-ranging [Iraqi-Soviet] relations will experience problems and obstacles. We have always looked at these problems and obstacles objectively, and tried always to resolve them within the framework of mutual understanding, which is based on the lasting principles of friendship and alliance. *However, we have been and continue to insist that constant and productive efforts be made to solve the [following] problems and obstacles*…
>
> Among the critical points in the bilateral relations is the issue of armament… We have explained to you a certain aspect of these problems when we dispatched an envoy to you in October 1975, who explained to you the types of weapons we need… A vital aspect in our armament remains: the acquisition of main battle tanks... There is also another issue we have explained to your ambassador, and it has become an unusual problem for us, which is the issue of weapons spare parts. *We hope you would take prompt and successful measures in this regard.* We would be very pleased [to] receive tangible answers [from Soviet officials] to these questions [regarding armament.]

[292] SH-SPPC-D-000-705, 1976.

Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr[293]

The language in the letter above exemplifies the proactive and assertive approach that the Baathist regime undertook in securing what it viewed were its vital interests. In this private correspondence to the Soviets, al-Bakr's language is much more moderate in its tone than the one that al-Bakr told Hussein he had used with the Soviets. Nevertheless, the message was still essentially the same: military aid (particularly the slow delivery of promised military supplies) was a key issue causing a strain between the Kremlin and Iraq's Baath Party. By the mid-1970s, therefore, the once auspicious Iraqi-Soviet relationship did not deliver on its promises. As discussed in the previous chapter, Moscow failed to get any tangible strategic benefits from its security cooperation with Baghdad (e.g. the Soviet air force and navy had only limited access to Iraqi military facilities.)[294] Furthermore, during the mid-1970s Iraq embarked on an extensive military diversification program, as discussed in further detail in the next chapter.

During the early 1970s the Baathist regime also tried to portray itself as the leader of the pan-Arab cause; most notoriously, it supported various Palestinian terrorist groups.[295] Over the long-run, however, the Baathist leadership was always committed to maintaining and promoting uniquely Iraqi interests, which included reaching out to "imperialist" countries. By the mid-to-late 1970s, some American policymakers had begun to recognise this fact. For example, in November 6, 1976, the U.S. Interests Section in Baghdad sent a telegram to the State Department and the American Embassy in Iran which highlighted the divergence in Iraqi and Soviet foreign

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[293] SH-SPPC-D-000-705, 1976. Emphasis added.
[294] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 74.
[295] For example, the "political committee" of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP), a terrorist group, was based in Iraq during. See FBIS-MEA-74-041, "Habbash, PFLP Determined to Fight Kissinger Plans," Baghdad INA (February 17, 1974.) For example, archival evidence of Iraq's support of Palestinian terrorist groups during the early 1970s, see SH-GMID-D-000-231, "Letter from the GMID to the General Staff Department containing a report on the Functional Committee for the Liberation of Palestine," August 1970 to November 1970; SH-BATH-D-000-219, "Letter from the State Secretariat Director to Director of General Security regarding organizations formed to back up the Palestinian Liberation Organization," August 1973

policy and argued that the "Iraqi regime consists of a group of prickly and hardened revolutionaries who accept socialist principles but act very much on the basis of their own perceptions of Iraq's national interests."[296] Consequently, in a separate memorandum, the U.S. Interests Section argued that the divergence in Soviet-Iraqi relations has "certain implications for U.S. policy":

> We could encourage the British and French to sell arms to Iraq and thereby reduce Iraq's dependence on the Soviet Union. We could ourselves be more forthcoming on supplying non-lethal military items to the Iraqi armed forces and security services. We could find new ways to support U.S. commercial interests in Iraq.[297]

As will be pointed out in a later chapter (Chapter 6: Economic Implications), U.S. and Western commercial trade with Iraq increased considerably during the mid-1970s. In fact, the Soviet Union remained Iraq's dominant supplier in only one field during this period: military equipment. Meanwhile, French military aid increased considerably during that time period as well, so much so that the Soviet share of Iraqi military imports declined from over ninety percent to about two-thirds by the end of the decade. All of these factors meant that by the end of the decade, the Baathist leadership had much greater leeway in exercising an independent foreign policy than it did in the immediate years after signing the Iraqi-Soviet treaty. Consequently, by the late 1970s, Baghdad had begun to openly differ with Moscow on policies affecting Arab or Muslim countries, including Afghanistan, Eritrea, Somalia, and Yemen. For example, Iraq gave "weapons, money, and support"[298] to Eritrean rebels who were fighting Soviet-backed Ethiopian forces. In addition, the Iraqi government took a different stance than Moscow regarding the political situation in North and South Yemen, where Iraqi officials were covertly promoting

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[296] U.S. State Department Document 319, "Telegram From the Interests Section in Baghdad to the Department of State and the Embassy in Iran," November 6, 1976.
[297] U.S. State Department Document 305, "Telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Saudi Arabia," April 12, 1976.
[298] SH-SHTP-A-000-851, 1979.

Baathism.[299] In sum, despite remaining Baghdad's primary military supplier, Moscow was unable to exercise significant influence over Iraqi foreign policy. The divergence in Iraqi-Soviet views on foreign policy was heightened during the mid-to-late 1970s in large part due to Iraq's military diversification program, which is discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

2. Security Policy

In the first years of the Iraqi Baath Party's reign the role of the Iraqi armed forces was geared towards internal security, particularly focused on quelling the Kurdish insurgency in the north.[300] In the late 1960s, nearly 60,000 Iraqi soldiers were sent to the north by the Baathist regime to quell the Kurdish insurgency, which at the time was supported by Moscow.[301] Despite Iraq's outwardly anti-Israeli and anti-Western rhetoric, its participation in the 1973 Arab-Israeli War was limited and Baathist leaders did not have prior knowledge of Egypt's and Syria's decision to attack Israel.[302] Contemporary wisdom holds that a dominant supplier, especially one that has a significant presence of military trainers in a recipient state, would have considerable input in the recipient's military operations, policymaking, and strategic planning.[303] During the 1970s, Baghdad's large-scale weapons purchases brought about the presence of a significant number of Soviet military advisers in Iraq. Given the secrecy of the Baathist regime, figures vary on how many Soviet military personnel were actually stationed in Iraq during this period. Although Soviet estimates on this subject are difficult to come by and no records of the total Soviet

[299] SH-SPPC-D-000-795, "Two letters from Nizar Hamdun to Saddam Hussein regarding enemy plans against the regime and continued support to Yemen," August 1976; SH-SPPC-D-000-796, "Letter from Qasim Salam to Saddam Hussein regarding events in Yemen, including the Saudi-Yemeni conspiracy to kill Ba'ath Party members," 19 Oct 1978.
[300] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 123-124.
[301] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 163-164.
[302] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 120. Similarly, the SHC does not have evidence that Iraq was aware of Syria's and Egypt's upcoming attack on Israel in 1973.
[303] Mott, *Soviet Military Assistance*, 61.

advisers are available in the SHC, a 1973 telegram from the U.S. Embassy in Iran to the U.S. Department of State provided some evidence that the "Soviets have 1,000 technicians and advisors in Iraq."[304] The telegram also noted that "Iraqi government has asked the Soviets to send experts to help reorganise the Iraqi Ministry of Interior and to overhaul governmental administrative systems."[305]

It is important to note that U.S. diplomats got the information above from the Shah of Iran, who may have had his own interests in portraying Iraq as a "Soviet satellite country" in order to gain more weapons from Washington.[306] Furthermore, the Iraqi Ministry of Interior dealt primarily with ensuring the survival of the Baathist regime; there is little evidence to suggest that during the 1970s Soviet advisors worked on reorganising the Iraqi Ministry of Defence, which at the time was focused primarily on the fight against the Kurdish insurgency in the north.[307] Nevertheless, the evidence above does suggest that in the immediate years following the 1972 Treaty, there was a sizable presence of Soviet advisors in Iraq and that they did try to impact, to an extent, Iraq's internal security structure.

A U.S. State Department memorandum from 1976 estimated the "Soviet presence in Iraq includes approximately 1,000 military advisors, primarily in training and maintenance areas, and approximately 2,000 civilians and technicians in such areas as oil development and exploration,

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[304] U.S. State Department Document 218, "Telegram From the Embassy in Iran to the Department of State," June 25, 1973.
[305] U.S. State Department Document 218, 1973. The telegram above also noted that in discussions with American officials, the Shah felt that increased Iraqi-Soviet security cooperation "would justify referring to it as a satellite country of the Soviet Union."
[306] Given the secrecy of the Baath Party, actual figures of the number of Soviet advisors in Iraq during the early 1970s hard to come by, even within the SHC. A telegram from the U.S. Interests Section to the Department of State sent in early July 1973 noted that the Shah's "1,000 figure for Soviet technicians is as good a guess as any." See U.S. State Department Document 219, "Telegram From the Interests Section in Baghdad to the Department of State," July 1, 1973.
[307] In fact, as later sections in this chapter show, Soviet advisors had very little access to or impact on the Iraqi Ministry of Defence.

irrigation projects, and power projects."[308] Similarly, Roger Pajak, who served as a National Security Adviser to the U.S. Secretary of the Treasury during the early 1980s, stated that there were over 1,000 Soviet technicians and military personnel working in Iraq on defence contracts during the late 1970s.[309] In addition, Iraqi students formed one of the largest contingents of foreign students that were trained in Soviet military academies during the 1970s.[310] As will discussed in chapter seven, during the 1970s Baghdad did adopt the Soviet model of having "political commissars" running a parallel chain of command in the Iraqi military to ensure soldiers' loyalty to the Baath Party. However, there is no evidence to suggest that ICP members, much less Soviet advisors, were part of that parallel structure.

In addition to Soviet military advisors in Iraq, the second largest contingent of foreign military trainers during the 1970s came from India. In the early 1970s, India signed a secret agreement to provide military training to Iraq.[311] Between 1968 and 1979, most of India's military inventory came from the Soviet Union, while the United States provided no military aid to New Delhi.[312] Consequently, much of India's military assistance focused on training Iraqis to use Soviet or Socialist-bloc weapons. According to Iraqi Major General Falah Hassan, who entered the Iraqi Air Force during the early-to-mid-1970s,

> Most of our training came from Indian and Russian military personnel. The training was conducted in a mix of languages, including Russian, English, and even some Hindi. The Indian contingent taught us how to fly Czech L-29 and L-39 in our advanced training courses. The Russian training depended a lot more on safety, on following the basic rules and keeping people alive. The Indian

[308] U.S. State Department Document 305, "Telegram From the Department of State to the Embassy in Saudi Arabia," April 12, 1976.
[309] Roger Pajak, "Soviet Arms Transfers as an Instrument of Influence," *Survival: Global Politics and Strategy,* 23:4, 169.
[310] Pajak, "Soviet Arms Transfers," 169.
[311] Thomas Marks, "France's Strategic Toehold in Africa," *African Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 290 (January, 1974), 99.
[312] During this period, the Soviet Union provided roughly 72% of India's arms imports on a yearly average.

> training was more aggressive; after we received advanced training from Indian personnel, we became more confident in our abilities, as they encouraged us to be more creative and courageous.[313]

During the 1970s, therefore, Iraq was primarily trained by Soviet military personnel or advisors from other countries to use Soviet or Socialist-bloc weapons. Nevertheless, Soviet military trainers were unable to impact Baghdad's security policy, that is, the ends towards which the Iraqi government was willing and interested in using its military power. Despite the Kremlin's attempts to stop Iraq from fighting the Kurds, the role of the Iraqi armed forces remained focused on internal security, particularly on quelling the Kurdish insurgency in the north.[314] Furthermore, Soviet attempts to integrate Iraq into a regional security framework composed of "anti-imperialist" Arab states (described in more detail in the previous chapter) also failed.[315] Even though both Iraq and the Soviet Union being openly supportive of the Palestinian cause, the Iraqi Armed Forces did not come to the aid of Palestinians during Black September, the period between September 1970 and July 1971 when thousands of Palestinians were killed by the Jordanian military.[316] Here it is important to note that the Iraqi military was stronger than the Jordanian armed forces, and maintained a large contingent in Jordan. Given that Jordan received most of its limited foreign military assistance during the 1970s from either the United Kingdom or the United States,[317] an attack with Soviet weapons on the diminutive Jordanian armed forces

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[313] Author's interview with Falah Hassan (January 16, 2014.) Hassan reached the rank of Colonel in the Iraqi Air Force and today is a Major General and Commander of the IQAF.
[314] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 123-124.
[315] During the late 1970s, following Egypt's peace negotiations with Israel, Iraq tried to create a unified political with Syria to balance Israel but ultimately these efforts failed. For an Iraqi perspective on Iraqi-Syrian relations during this period, see SH-SPPC-D-000-583, "Letter from Nizar Hamdun to Saddam Hussein regarding Iraqi and Syrian Ba'ath commitment," October 28, 1978; SH-BATH-D-000-206, "Correspondence to Saddam Hussein regarding proposed integration of the Iraqi and Syrian Ba'ath Parties and notes regarding the Ba'ath Party structure," December 30, 1978; SH-SHTP-A-000-911, "Discussion between Saddam Hussein and Iraqi officials about Iraq's relationship with Syria," November 26, 1979.
[316] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 48-49, 58-60.
[317] For most years during the late 1960s and 1970s, Jordan received between 90% and 100% of its military imports from either the United States or the United Kingdom. During the same period, Iraq imported between $0.5- $1 billion more than did Jordan. SIPRI, *Jordan and Iraq*, 1968-1979.

could have led to a quick and decisive Iraqi victory, thereby boosting Moscow's image as a powerful supporter of the Palestinian and "pan-Arab cause."

Arguably the only time that the Kremlin was able to influence Iraq's security policy was in the period between 1968 and 1970, two years after the Baathist takeover. In 1969 the Iraqi Baath government abandoned the fight against the Kurds and in the following year signed the March Agreement. In retrospect, however, the March Agreement was intended not to so much to satisfy the demands of its primary military supplier as it was to buy time for the Baathist regime to expand the Iraqi armed forces to such a degree that they could defeat the Kurdish insurgency. When the Iraqi government launched its second counterinsurgency campaign four years after the agreement was signed, the Kremlin officially maintained a neutral position on the Iraqi military's campaign and continued to supply Baghdad with military aid, including Scud surface-to-surface missiles and MiG-23s.[318] During the mid-1970s, no Iraqi pilots were qualified to operate the Tupolev-22 medium-range bombers and the MiG-21s and 23s, which were used extensively during the mid-1970s against the Kurds. Consequently, some reports suggested that Soviet pilots flew advanced aircraft in northern Iraq during this time period and that Soviet military technicians were in charge of surface-to-surface missiles.[319] During the late 1970s, when Soviet support was no longer needed as much in quelling the largely defeated Kurdish insurgency, the Baathist regime increased its purging of Communist and Soviet-backed military officers. In 1978, following an alleged coup, Iraqi authorities reportedly arrested 1,000 officers (40 of which were ultimately executed) who were deemed to be members of the communist party or "protégés of Moscow."[320] Through the repressive Baathification program, the RCC sent a powerful

[318] Alexander Ghebhardt, "Soviet and U.S. Interests in the Indian Ocean," *Asian Survey*, Vol. 15, No. 8 (August 1975), 679.
[319] Ghebhardt, "Soviet and U.S. Interests," 679.
[320] FBIS-MEA-78-112, "Al-Anba: Pro-Soviet Iraqi Army Officers Dismissed," *Doha QNA* (June 8, 1978.)

message to internal (i.e. Iraqi civilians and military officers) and external (i.e. the Soviet Union and other suppliers) audiences: the Baathist leadership was alone in charge of Iraq's security policy.

3. Internal Affairs

Given that the Kremlin often pressured recipient states to give greater freedom to Communist or socialist parties in recipient states,[321] one may expect the Soviet-backed Iraqi Communist Party (ICP) to have been given greater freedom to play a role in the Baathist-led government. Initially, this was the case in Iraq: the Baathist regime legalised the ICP in 1973 following the signing of the Iraqi-Soviet Treaty in the year before and formed the National Progressive Front, which integrated the Soviet-backed ICP and the Kurdish Democratic Party into Iraq's government.[322] In order to continue receiving military aid from the Soviet Union, the Baathist regime even allowed several members of the ICP to become members of the Presidential cabinet, albeit in non-influential posts.[323] In the period between 1968 and 1975, therefore, Soviet military aid did have an impact on Iraqi internal affairs, as Baathist officials aimed to appease Soviet demands in exchange for security assistance.

Nevertheless, following the end of the aforementioned 1974-1975 military campaign in northern Iraq, the Baathist leadership quickly turned back to repressing the ICP since Soviet military aid was no longer needed as much to defeat the Kurdish insurgency. In 1976 the Baath

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[321] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 303.
[322] Importantly, in 1973 the Baath Party formed the National Progressive (or Patriotic) Front alongside the ICP Central Committee (ICP-CC), which had formally split from the ICP Central Leadership (ICP-CL) in 1968. The latter was a more radical grouping within the ICP which criticised the ICP for its dependence on the Soviet Union and argued that rather than cooperating with the Baathist regime the ICP should mobilise for a popular struggle in Iraq. For more on the rift between the ICP-CC and the ICP-CL, see Tareq Ismael, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Iraq* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 114-165
[323] Helms, *Iraq*, 77.

Party launched a drive led by the security services against the ICP. In March 1977, the ICP delivered a scathing report to the Baathist leadership which criticised the Baath Party. In April 1977, the Baath Party arrested suspected communists and communist sympathisers in the military and sentenced them to death. Although the Soviet Secretary General Leonid Brezhnev asked the Baathist leadership to commute the sentences, they were executed on May 19, 1977.[324] In May 1978, an additional twenty-one Iraqi communist party members were executed. A few months later, Baghdad enacted a law whereby any non-Baathist political activities exercised by military officers since 1968 were punishable by the death penalty, even if the military personnel had retired since and even if that individual no longer subscribed to non-Baathist (i.e. Communist) political ideologies.[325]

Additionally, Moscow's attempt to use military aid to allow for greater freedom of Iraq's Kurdish minority only worked in the period between 1968 and 1972, during which the Kurdish movement had close relations with the Soviet Union. One instance when tying military aid to Kurdish rights succeeded was when Moscow gave military support to both the Kurds and the Iraqi central government in the late 1960s, while putting pressure on Baghdad to cease fighting against the Kurds. Because the Baath Party had just come to power in 1968 and the Iraqi military was weak, the Baathists had to quickly cease their military campaign by 1969. In 1970, the Baath Party signed the March Manifesto with the Kurds, which brought about greater autonomy to the Kurdish region and greater respect for Kurdish rights.[326] In March 1974, just a month before Baghdad launched its second counterinsurgency campaign, the Kurdistan

[324] Ismael, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Iraq*, 114-165.
[325] Helms, *Iraq*, 177.
[326] Iraqi Government, *March Manifesto*, 1970.

Democratic Party (KDP), led by Mustafa Barzani, sent a telegram to the Baathist leadership which noted that:

> The implementation of [Kurdish] self-rule and its practical application is considered a sacred trust for all of us. This calls on our Kurdish people, their vanguard [Kurdistan Democratic Party], all the national forces and the best of our struggling Iraqi people to mobilise their resources and to provide their potentials in order to implement the law and to protect it from the plots of imperialism and suspicious elements.[327]

In private, however, the KDP and Barzani were well-aware that the Iraqi government was building up its armed forces and were planning to attack Kurdish targets in the north. Consequently, in 1973 Masoud Barzani (Mustafa Barzani's son) met secretly with U.S. officials to request American military aid. In these discussions KDP leaders emphasised to American policymakers the "strong Soviet support" of the Iraqi leadership.[328] Kurdish fears about the Baath Party's intentions turned out to be well-founded. Between 1970 and 1974 the Iraqi government used better relations with Moscow to ask for larger amounts of military aid, and began to stockpile weapons in preparation for a fight against the Kurds. As the four-year period expired, Iraqi forces began to attack the KDP troops in 1974, only a short time after the Kurdish-Baathist announcement above was made. Soviet support of the Iraqi military campaign in 1974-1975 was important to the survival of the Baathist regime and marked a significant shift in the Kremlin's attempt to influence Iraqi internal affairs compared to the period when the Baath Party came to power: by the mid-1970s, Moscow was visibly on the side of the Baathist regime, regardless of whether it oppressed or supported the Kurds.

[327] FBIS-MEA-74-049, "DPK Leaders Express Gratitude," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (March 12, 1974.)
[328] See for example U.S. State Department Document 222, "Backchannel Message from the Ambassador to Iran (Helms) to the President's Assistant for National Security Affairs (Kissinger)," July 9, 1973.

PART II: 1980-1990

1. Foreign Policy

During the 1980s, the Iraqi Baath Party adopted a more stridently independent foreign policy than it did during the previous decade. The RCC alone made the decision to invade Iran, and contrary to the spirit of the 1972 treaty Baathist leaders did not give a real warning to Soviet leaders that they were about to attack Iran in September 1980. Iraq's failure to consult the Kremlin prior to the invasion angered Soviet decision-makers, who promptly imposed an arms embargo on Iraq that lasted for over a year. The embargo ended by mid-1982. In a meeting with Baathist Cabinet Ministers in July 1982, Adnan Khairallah, the Iraqi Minister of Defence, read the contents of an Iraqi government letter that was delivered to the Soviets at an earlier date:

> The Iraqi government sees that it is important to inform the Soviet government: [In accordance with] Article 8 of the [1972] treaty between Iraq and the Soviet Union - [which] demands holding a consultation between the two countries if a danger appears to threaten any of them – Iraq wants to deliberate with the Soviet Union to take the necessary measures [for enhanced military cooperation.][329]

The irony of Iraqi leaders citing Article 8 of the 1972 Treaty in order to gain more Soviet military supplies could not have been lost on the Kremlin, since Baathist leaders failed to hold the consultative talks which were stipulated by the treaty before invading Iran. The Kremlin's response to the Iraqis' request for military aid in 1982 was that the "Soviet Union will continue offering support and aid to all who did not kneel to the imperialist aggression in the Lebanon case [and] those who seek peace in the region."[330] While angered at first by Iraq's decision to invade Iran, the Kremlin ultimately told the Baathist regime that they were willing to provide military and economic aid to Baghdad as long as Iraq continued to maintain an openly "anti-

[329] SH-SHTP-A-000-710, "Meeting between Saddam Hussein and Cabinet Ministers during Iran-Iraq War regarding Iranian advances and Security Council negotiations," July 2, 1982.
[330] SH-SHTP-A-000-710, July 2, 1982.

imperialist" stance. The Iraqi government continued to do so while covertly courting Washington, with which it restored diplomatic relations in 1984.

An area where one would expect greater foreign policy convergence between a supplier and its recipient would be over non-essential areas of foreign policy. Here too the Soviets had a somewhat limited impact. One example was the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, a country which borders Iran (not Iraq). Even though at the start of the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan Moscow was still Iraq's primary military supplier, Baghdad quickly came out *against* the Soviet invasion in Afghanistan. In January and February 1980, just weeks into the Soviet invasion, Iraqi officials, including Hussein, publicly denounced Soviet actions.[331] Speaking at the Islamic Foreign Ministers Conference in Islamabad on January 28, 1980, Iraq's Foreign Minister, Sadun Hammadi, stated that, "We, in the clearest sense of the word, condemn the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan… We also voted for the UN resolution… calling for the total and unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan."[332] In addition, two months later Iraq signed an anti-Soviet pact with Saudi Arabia which condemned the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.[333]

After the start of the Iran-Iraq War, the Iraqi government softened its position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, calculating that Baghdad will need Moscow's military support. An Iraqi book about the Baath government's official policy about the Soviet invasion, released late in 1980, condemned the United States, Israel, "colonialism," and "imperialism" for exploiting the international system. Meanwhile, the official Iraqi book referred to the Soviet Union as an "inescapable friend" that made sure that "the Arabs would receive the necessary arms to confront

[331] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq,* 217-218.
[332] FBIS-MEA-80-021, 1980.
[333] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 110.

their... enemy."[334] Therefore, on matters that were non-essential to Iraqi interests Baghdad adopted a flexible position, averting any breaks in its relationship with Moscow. When it came to essential matters, particularly the Iran-Iraq War, Baghdad maintained stridently independent policies.

2. Security Policy

During the 1980s, there were between 2,000 – 5,000 Soviet military and civilian advisors based in Iraq.[335] That number decreased considerably after the end of the Iran-Iraq War, but was still a considerable amount. In 1990, during the months leading up to the invasion of Kuwait, about 1,000 Soviet military advisers were still based in Iraq.[336] Given the size of the Soviet presence earlier in the 1980s, one would expect to find strong supplier influence over Iraqi political-military decision-making. However, this was not the case. In essence, Baathist leaders believed that the Iraqi government must provide "immunity to [Iraqi] people" against foreign threats.[337] Because previous coups in Iraq were historically led by the military, the Baath Party extended the idea of "ideological immunity" to the military services as well. Consequently, Soviet foreign military advisers for the most part were either isolated from Iraqi military officers or were kept under surveillance by the GMID. One of the most detailed intelligence files in the SHC is a collection of internal exchanges within Iraq's intelligence agencies from the period between 1980 and 1984 which reveal the extent to which Soviet military advisors were under Iraqi surveillance and were required to request permission from the Iraqi government for even

[334] Iraqi Government, "Comment on the Soviet Intervention in Afghanistan," *Iraqi Translation and Foreign Languages Publication* (Department of the Iraqi Ministry of Culture and Information, Baghdad: 1980), 16.
[335] Adam Tarock, *The Superpowers' Involvement in the Iran-Iraq War*, 217.
[336] Graham Fuller, "Moscow and the Gulf War," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 70, No. 3 (Summer 1991), 60.
[337] RCC Member Latif Jassim quoted in SH-SHTP-D-000-559, 1979.

seemingly inconsequential movements around Iraq.[338] Requests by the Soviet Military Attaché's office to the GMID during this period include: a 1982 request by Colonel Fasili Birlijin, the Soviet Military Attaché in Baghdad, to travel to Jordan in order to conclude his tour of duty; a 1983 request by Colonel Anatoli Yurshinku, the new Soviet Military Attaché in Baghdad, to travel to Takrit in order to visit the Tanks Training Centre; a 1983 request by Colonel Yurshinku to travel to Amman, accompanied by the assistant military attaché and his secretary, to collect the Soviet Military Attaché's family; a 1984 letter from the Assistant Soviet Military Attaché, a Major Vladimir Starajuk, requesting the GMID's approval to travel to Kuwait in order to purchase a new vehicle for the Soviet Military Attaché's office; a 1984 request by Soviet Naval Lieutenant Colonel Buns Saldatuf, and the secretary to the Military Attaché, Captain Valiri Izutuf, to travel to the al-Muthanna Complex for the purpose of purchasing spare tools for a vehicle.[339]

In all of the Soviet communiqués to Iraqi intelligence, the Soviet Military Attaché's office include the individuals seeking to travel, the exact departure and return dates and times, and details and a description of the car, along with license plate numbers. To each one of the requests in the archive the GMID responded in the affirmative and forwarded the information to the local Iraqi intelligence branch, asking them to keep the Soviet military advisors under surveillance during their movements around Iraq. Greater military cooperation, therefore, did not result in the military-military engagements one would expect; in fact, Iraqi-Soviet military interactions were plagued with suspicion. For example, in an internal Iraqi military intelligence correspondence reviewing a Soviet Military Attache's request to travel to al-Nasiriya to deliver a

[338] SH-GMID-D-000-382, "Correspondence regarding the Soviet Union attaché in Baghdad and travel to Jordan," December 1982 to December 1984.
[339] SH-GMID-D-000-382, 1982-1984.

lecture to Soviet experts at the al-Nasiriya power station, Iraqi intelligence concludes: "Certainly the objective of his [the Soviet Military Attaché's] travel is to give certain instructions and receive information from them [Soviet advisors] and at the same time conducting a reconnaissance of the military convoy's area."[340] Given the level of suspicion of external military advisors, at the end of intelligence reviews of Soviet requests, the GMID told the local or regional Iraqi security outpost: "*Please put him [the Soviet military advisor] under strict surveillance and provide us with a detailed report of his movements*."[341] Normally Iraqi surveillance of Soviet military advisors did not find anything of significance, with the GMID reporting that "no movement or activity was noted by the person in question [i.e. the Soviet military advisor] during surveillance."[342] Nevertheless, the fact that significant Iraqi intelligence assets were placed to monitor foreign military advisors during the Iran-Iraq war highlights the lengths to which Baathist leaders sought to minimise supplier influence over Iraqi security policy.

3. Iraqi Internal Affairs

In the short-run, Moscow's attempt to pressure Baghdad into treating the Kurds better in the late 1960s and early 1970s worked. In the long-run, however, the attempt to promote Kurdish rights only turned the issue into the same one as with Iraq's Communist Party: it heightened Iraq's suspicion that the Kurdish issue was a means for foreign intervention in Iraq. At a government meeting in 1981, a Baathist advisor told Hussein that Moscow "deals with Iraq taking into consideration that there is a Kurdish movement in Iraq possessing seventy thousand fighting men

[340] SH-GMID-D-000-382, 1982-1984.
[341] SH-GMID-D-000-382, 1982-1984. Emphasis added.
[342] SH-GMID-D-000-382, 1982-1984.

and is looking for a chance to form a government on a real basis."[343] Implicit in this message was that the Iraqi government would have to be prepared to counteract any attempts by the Soviet Union, which remained Iraq's primary military supplier during the decade, to try to use the Kurdish issue for its own gains.

During the Iran-Iraq War, a similar scenario had begun to develop in terms of Baghdad's relationship with Washington, which was providing Iraq with a modicum of direct and indirect financial, military, and intelligence aid.[344] At various points during that period U.S. officials tried to exert pressure on Baath Party officials to stop its mistreatment of Iraqi Kurds and Shi'i.[345] The promotion of human rights vis-à-vis military aid did not work. Archival evidence at the SHC confirms that the Baathist leadership actually increased its suppression of both groups after U.S.-Iraqi diplomatic relations were restored in 1984. During the mid-to-late 1980s, the Iraqi government allowed – and sometimes ordered - its armed forces to annihilate entire villages that had predominantly Shi'i Arab. For example, in 1985 Hussein approved a directive which gave permission for the Iraqi military to level civilian population areas in Basra, a primary Shi'i city in southern Iraq. A high-level Iraqi military telegram from that period notes that the "President and Commander of the Armed Forces [i.e. Hussein] has approved the... levelling of terrain east of the Tigris River [and] demolishing all homes and villages [in the aforementioned areas] and banning the return of their inhabitants indefinitely."[346] These and other documents available in the SHC show the culpability of the Baathist regime in willingly using harsher means to repress Iraq's Shi'i community during the late 1980s.

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[343] Iraqi government official in SH-SHTP-A-000-711, "Saddam and Iraqi officials discussing the King Fahad Initiative, Relations with the USSR, and Perceptions of other Middle Eastern Countries," October 3, 1981.
[344] For example, see SH-IDGS-D-000-854, "Reports by the General Security Intelligence Directorate to the deputy directorate regarding a study presented by the American military attaché in Baghdad detailing Iranian military capabilities," December 1986 to March 1988.
[345] Resnick, "Strange Bedfellows," 144-184.
[346] SH-MISC-D-000-729, "Order from Saddam Hussein to Destroy Villages in the Basra Area," March 20, 1985.

Chemical warfare was used against the Kurdish minority and the Iranian military during the mid-to-late-1980s, despite the fact that Western leaders urged Iraq to stop from using weapons of mass destruction on innocent civilians. At various points between 1984 and 1986, high-level U.S. officials publicly condemned Iraq for using chemical weapons in its war with Iran.[347] (Washington also expressed as much if not more concern about Iran using chemical weapons, despite the fact that Iran used them at a much lower rate than did Iraq.)[348] Nevertheless, Washington's criticism of Baghdad seem to have had little impact on Iraq's use of chemical weapons. Between 1986 and 1989, the Iraqi armed forces unleashed the "Anfal Campaign" against Kurdish fighters and civilians in northern Iraq, in which tens of thousands of Kurdish civilians were murdered on a systematic basis, often through the use of chemical weapons. The SHC houses military memoranda from that time that clearly shows how the Iraqi military orchestrated mass murder on a systematic basis.[349] For example, an Iraqi military unit sent to the north to quell a Kurdish uprising, reported the following on May 13, 1987: "At 1630 hrs, a force from the 8th National Defence Regiment *set out to relocate and burn* the villages of Kariza and Mashi... *The [Iraqi] force was able to annihilate the village of Mashi*."[350]

It is important to note that Shi'is and Kurds formed roughly 80 percent of the rank-and-file of the Iraqi armed forces during the Iran-Iraq War.[351] Former Iraqi General Hamdani points out that during the Iran-Iraq War "we [i.e. Iraqis] did not think about the Shi'i or Sunni. [...] The

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[347] See for example Bernard Gwertzman, "U.S. Says Iraqi Used Poison Gas Against Iranians in Latest Battles," *New York Times* (March 6, 1984), A1; Gwertzman, "U.S. Says Iraqis Use Poison Gas; Shultz and Baghdad Official Meet," *New York Times* (March 26, 1985), A1; and "U.S. Condemns Iraq, Charges Use of Chemical Arms in War," *New York Times* (March 21, 1986), A8.
[348] "U.S. Fears Iran May Use Chemical Arms," *New York Times* (April 25, 1985), A3.
[349] Joost Hiltermann, "Revenge of the Kurds: Breaking Away from Baghdad," *Foreign Affairs* (November/December 2012), 17.
[350] SH-IZAR-D-000-528, "Demolishing and relocating Kurdish villages as part of the Anfal campaign and quelling the Halabja riots," 1987.
[351] Adeed Dawisha, "'Identity' and Political Survival in Saddam's Iraq," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 53, No. 4 (Autumn, 1999), 558.

[Ba'thist] Iraqi state was not built on divisions [...] We knew the percentage of Shi'is [in the military] was high."[352] Although both communities were often excluded from senior positions in the armed forces in the period under study,[353] there were some exceptions. Top Shi'i military officers included Lieutenant General Abd Al-Sattar Ahmad Al-Muini who commanded the Second Army, Lieutenant General Saadi Tuma Abbas Al-Jaburi who commanded the First, Third, and Seventh Army at different time during the Iran-Iraq War, and Major General Nimat Faris Hussein Al-Mihyawi, who led the First Army; meanwhile, Husain Rashid al-Takriti, a Kurdish general, commanded the Republican Guard which protected Saddam Hussein.[354] During the Iran-Iraq War, Shi'i tribes were also used by the Iraqi government to defend regions near the Iraq-Iran border.[355] Such policies were largely reversed by the late 1980s, when Shi'i soldiers were often excluded from the top ranks of Iraq's political and military leadership.[356] Despite these changes, for the entirety of war the majority of Iraqi Shi'is retained their Arab and Iraqi identity and their loyalty to the Iraqi state and armed forces.[357]

Despite the loyalty of participation of many Kurds as part of the Iraqi military during the war, an estimated 150,000 to 200,000 Kurds (mostly civilians) were killed by the Iraqi armed forces in 1988 alone.[358] The Iraqi government also authorised using chemical weapons against Iranian troops in the belief that "if they [the Iranians] do not witness the deaths of many [people]

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[352] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 52
[353] Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 259-260.
[354] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 145.
[355] Steven Simon, "The Price of the Surge: How U.S. Strategy Is Hastening Iraq's Demise," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 87 (May - Jun., 2008), 66-67.
[356] Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 3.
[357] Anthony Lake, "Confronting Backlash States," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 73, No. 2 (Mar. - Apr., 1994), 54.
[358] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 270. Archival evidence of the Iraqi government's complicity in this campaign includes: SH-IZAR-D-000-528, "Memoranda regarding demolishing and relocating Kurdish villages as part of the Anfal Campaign and quelling the Halabjah riots," May 1987; SH-GMID-D-000-468, "Telegrams regarding plans to face the enemies attacking Halabjah and enemy loses from the 'Special Strikes,'" March 1988; SH-GMID-D-001-026, "General Military Intelligence Directorate reports regarding the status of the Iraqi Corps and regiments during the Iraq-Iran War in different sectors of the battlefield and discussions about Halabjah," March 1988.

right in front of their own eyes, they will not surrender."[359] Internally, the U.S. State Department was aware as early as November 1983 that Iraq was using chemical weapons on almost a "daily basis."[360] In 1984, doctors in Belgium, Sweden, and West Germany "confirmed that the Iranian soldiers sent to them for treatment were victims of mustard gas."[361] On three separate occasions between 1985 and 1987, U.N. Missions sent to the region confirmed that Iraq was using chemical weapons.[362] Despite mounting evidence that the Baathist regime was not committed to upholding international human rights norms inside and outside of Iraq, Western countries continued to support the regime in Baghdad up until Iraq's invasion of Kuwait 1990. In 1988 and 1989, both private American banks and British companies provided financial loans and aid to Iraq's military industry that amounted to several billion dollars in total.[363]

During the 1980s, Moscow also continued to try to link military aid with greater integration of the ICP into Iraqi decision-making. As was the case during the 1970s, however, such efforts proved largely counterproductive because Soviet attempts to use military aid to change the political system in Baghdad engendered a suspicion amongst Baathist leaders that Moscow was trying to overthrow the regime. As an Iraqi presidential advisor told Hussein in 1981, "the Soviet Union deals with Iraq, in my opinion, through the following outlook: Iraq has a communist party that is nominated to take over the power in governing Iraq [i.e. after the hypothetical overthrow of the Baath Party.]"[364] Similarly, in an RCC meeting in 1986, Tariq

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[359] Iraq's Minister of Defence, quoted in SH-AFGC-D-000-731, "Minutes of a meeting between Saddam Hussein, the Minister of Defence, and the Supervisor of Military Manufacturing regarding operational supplies," March 24, 1988.
[360] GWU NSA Document 24, "Department of State, Bureau of Politico-Military Affairs Information Memorandum from Jonathan Howe to George Shultz, 'Iraq Use of Chemical Weapons,'" November 1, 1983.
[361] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 76.
[362] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 76.
[363] Alan Friedman, *Spider's Web: Bush, Saddam, Thatcher and the Decade of Deceit* (London: Faber and Faber, 1993), 114-123.
[364] Iraqi government official. SH-SHTP-A-000-711, 1981.

Aziz reflected that "in 1979-1980, the Soviets wanted to destroy the Iraqi regime by stimulating the socialists in Iraq to rise against us [i.e. the Baathist regime.]"[365] The Baathists who ran the government during the entire period under study were therefore very sensitive to Soviet pressures to integrate Communists into Iraqi decision-making, which they viewed as a ploy to overthrow the Baathist regime. A 1982 Baath Party report declared that by the late 1970s, "relations with the [Iraqi] Communist Party's leadership had come to an end."[366]

During the Iran-Iraq War, over half of Iraqi military imports came from the Soviet Union.[367] The release of 200 Iraqi Communist prisoners in 1982, reportedly conducted in exchange for Soviet military aid, made little impact on the Baath Party's hold on power. In 1985, Hussein, Aziz, and Taha Yasin Ramadan – three top members of the Baathist leadership – travelled to the Soviet Union to ask the Kremlin for greater amount of military aid. Following the visit, Iraq's General Security Intelligence Directorate (GSID), located within the Ministry of Interior, compiled a report on Communist and Kurdish opposition views and activities in response to the trip.[368] The GSID collected information from local security directorates located in the majority of Iraq's eighteen provinces.[369] Specifically, the Iraqi government was looking to find out a number of key sources of information: the degree to which the ICP and other political opposition groups still had links with the Soviet Union (which would be revealed by the amount

[365] SH-SHTP-A-000-638, "Meeting between Saddam Hussein and the Revolutionary Command Council regarding President Ronald Reagan's speech on the U.S. relationship with Iran," circa November 15, 1986 to November 31, 1986.
[366] Arab Baath Socialist Party, *A Central Report of the Ninth Regional Congress, June 1982* (Baghdad: The Party, 1983.)
[367] SIPRI, *Iraqi Military Imports*, 1980-1988.
[368] SH-IDGS-D-000-792, "General Security Directorate report regarding the reactions of communists in Iraq after Saddam Hussein's visit to Russia in 1985," 26 Jan 1986 to 06 Feb 1986.
[369] The provinces in which the local security branches collected intelligence include Babil, Basrah, Dahuk, Diyalah, Irbil, Maysan, Muthana, Najaf, Ninewa, Qadissiyah, and Tamim.

of details they had about the secretive trip) and whether they believed that Moscow had influence over the Baathist regime.

Iraq's internal intelligence discovered a mixed reaction in different regions. In some provinces, such as Ninewa, the local security directorate reported that, "We do not see any reaction from communist elements, domestically, in regards to visit of President [Hussein] to the Soviet Union."[370] The Diyalah security directorate found that "the Communist elements were amazed by the sudden trip."[371] Most communist and Kurdish in Diyalah elements speculated that the secret trip was undertaken to obtain weapons from Moscow. In Basrah province, Iraqi communists criticised Moscow for receiving the Iraqi President even though "the blood of [Communists] has not dried yet" off the hands of Hussein and other Baathist members.[372] Other communists in Basrah were "optimistic that this visit may result in the releasing of communists" from Iraqi jails, in exchange for Soviet military support.[373]

Given the secrecy of the negotiations on the trip, most Iraqis did not know what was actually discussed with the Soviet Union, and what Moscow agreed to. In the Qadisiyah province, the security directorate reported that Abu Jawad, a member of "the [local] communist leadership ranks" in the region, told an Iraqi government intelligence source that, "Baath Party members imagine that the Soviet Union sponsors the Iraqi Communist Party, when in fact, the Soviets do not interfere in the internal issues of the [ICP]."[374] Regarding the Iraqi government's strategy of maintaing domestic politcial control while receving foreign military assistance, Abu Jawad described how he viewed the Iraqi visit to the Soviet Union:

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[370] Ninewa Security Directorate file in SH-IDGS-D-000-792, 1986.
[371] Diyalah Security Directorate file in SH-IDGS-D-000-792, 1986.
[372] Basrah Security Directorate file in SH-IDGS-D-000-792, 1986.
[373] Basrah Security Directorate file in SH-IDGS-D-000-792, 1986.
[374] Qadisiyah Security Directorate file in SH-IDGS-D-000-792, 1986.

> [President Hussein] took Tariq Aziz and Taha Yasin Ramadan with him, who are the two candidates for the presidency, [to the Soviet Union]… and he left Azah al-Dawni to preside, a man who does not have any military authority. As for the visit [itself], it was nothing but an excuse to buy sophistcated weaponary. [375]

In Tamim Province, the security directorate reported that "communist elements" and the wider Kurdish public believed that Iraq "is currently undertaking negotiations with [the] Communist Party, and [the] Democratic Party of Kurdistan, in the wake of the visit of the President-commander [to the Soviet Union.]"[376] Implicitly, the report noted that a number of Iraqi communists believed that an improvement with the ICP would come about as a result of the visit to the Soviet Union, which would pressure the central government to improve its relationship with Iraqi communists. Other internal security directorates reported that some ICP members believed that the Iraqi government was willing to let Iraqi communists out of jail in return for Soviet military support. For example,

> In Dahuk Province [a Kurdish region in Iraq], [opposition] elements circulated that throughout the visit of the President-commander… to the Soviet Union, the [Baath Party] Leadership raised the issue of the Iraqi [Communist] Party's return to the national ranks [and] the National Front, and that His Excellency [Hussein] agreed to that… In the autonomous [Kurdish] region, those elements circulated that after President [Hussein] returned, he ordered the release of Communist elements which had previously been detained.[377]

The expectation that Iraq will release members of the ICP in return for Soviet military aid was not unfounded. Throughout the 1980s, as described in greater detail above, improvements in Soviet-Iraqi security cooperation sometimes did result in the release of a number of ICP prisoners.[378] In other provinces of Iraq, communists were not as optimistic about Moscow's influence over Baghdad. The Iraqi government's security directorate in Muthana province reported that "secret information issued within the [Iraqi] Communist Party [confirms their

[375] Qadisiyah Security Directorate file in SH-IDGS-D-000-792, 1986.
[376] Tamim Province Security Directorate file in SH-IDGS-D-000-792, 1986.
[377] Dahuk Province Security Directorate file in SH-IDGS-D-000-792, 1986.
[378] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 241.

belief] that the Soviet Union [views] Iraq as a [sovereign] country, [as evidenced in the Kremlin] not undertaking to interfere in internal affairs."[379] In addition, Joseph Sassoon, who has conducted archival research of both Iraqi and East German archives, has concluded the Baathist regime's persecution of ICP members also caused the German Democratic Republic, which up until the mid-1970s enjoyed relatively close cooperation with Iraq, to revaluate its understanding of the Baathist regime during the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s.[380]

INTERPRETATION OF EVIDENCE, 1968-1990

Iraqi Foreign Policy

While in the early period of the Baathist reign Iraq took generally similar lines to Soviet policies, by the mid-to-late 1970s Baghdad had begun to differ significantly from its primary military supplier on foreign policy issues in the Arab and Muslim worlds, including vis-à-vis Afghanistan, Eritrea Somalia, and Yemen. Baghdad's willingness to pursue a more independent foreign policy during that period could be explained in part by the success of its military and economic diversification policies of the late 1970s, which are discussed in greater detail in chapter five. When Iraq invaded Iran in late September 1980, it did not inform the Kremlin of this decision, in contravention of the 1972 Iraqi-Soviet Treaty, which called for mutual consultation in the event of war. Angered by the Baathist regime's actions, Moscow imposed an arms embargo on Baghdad almost immediately after the war started. It was only around June 1981 that Iraqi-Soviet relations warmed again, and a secret agreement was made to begin deliveries one month later (the embargo officially ended in 1982). In October 1981, in a meeting

[379] Muthana Province Security Directorate file in SH-IDGS-D-000-792, 1986.
[380] Sassoon, "The East German Ministry for State Security and Iraq, 1968–1989," 4-23.

a few months after the Soviets started to resupply the Iraqi armed forces top Baathist policymakers met to discuss Baghdad's foreign policy. In an audio transcript of that meeting, Baathist officials tried to figure out whether Moscow's resumption of arms necessitates a change in Iraqi policies, including in the key issue of Iraq's stance on Afghanistan:

> Siding with the Soviets [in order to continue Soviet military transfers] is indicative of weakness. At the same time, opposing the Soviets is completely unacceptable. We don't want to be seen as dependent or regarded as being in the Soviet camp. And if we do not improve our relations with them it is as if we have severed our agreement with them.[381]

In the statement above, Hussein frames Iraqi policy not in ideological terms, but rather in how Iraq would *appear* if it sided with the Soviets. In essence, Hussein framed the issue of siding with an arms supplier in the following way: if a recipient state blindly supports the policies of its primary supplier, it appears as its "client" or "satellite"; however, if it does not support the foreign policy of its military supplier, it risks antagonizing relations with it. The first part is interesting because Moscow had no inherent interest in making sure Iraq won the war. Soviet military supplies were much more important to Iraq, which by then was one year in to the Iran-Iraq War. Yet even here Baghdad did not want to be viewed by other states as a supplicant of its military supplier. At the aforementioned meeting in October 1981, an unnamed Baathist official suggested that Iraq adopt the following general approach towards its primary military supplier:

> [Socialist] countries from Romania to East Germany and other countries whose political decisions are controlled by the Kremlin… all… sell guns and ammunitions to Iraq. They also sell ammunitions to Iran at the same time, because they know that we are an independent country. They know that neither the leadership of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party and neither the government of Iraq will accept being on the band-wagon of the Soviets to declare support for the invasion of Afghanistan. When Gromyko meets with [Iraq's foreign minister] Sa'adoon Hammadi and blames him for not supporting the invasion, Sa'adoon will answer and tell him that Iraq can give support of the propaganda campaign in Afghanistan to try and smooth the atmosphere. However, Sa'adoon can say that Iraq will not give the support that the Syrians gave when they declared that they supported the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.[382]

[381] SH-SHTP-A-000-711, 1981.
[382] SH-SHTP-A-000-711, 1981.

Even though Moscow continued to support Iraq militarily throughout most of the Iran-Iraq war, this seemed to have made little impact on Baghdad's foreign policy beyond a change in rhetoric. As with the Kremlin's attempts to influence domestic politics in Baghdad, the Iraqi government did everything it could to limit Soviet leverage over Baghdad's foreign policy. Baathist leaders believed that "superpowers do not like independent states [which they cannot] annex or directly influence"[383] and recognised that their stubbornness could lead to worse-off relations with their military suppliers. For most of the period under study, the Soviet Union had negligible influence over Iraqi foreign affairs despite remaining Iraq's primary supplier.

Iraqi Security Policy

The Soviet Union also had much less impact over Iraqi security policy than one would expect. During the entire period under study, there were only two true instances where Moscow successfully exercised influence over Iraqi security policy: when Moscow was able to stop the Baathist regime's counterinsurgency campaign against the Kurds in 1969 and when the Kremlin persuaded Iraq to withdraw its forces from Kuwait in 1973. Nevertheless, following the Arab loss in the 1973 Arab-Israeli war, Baghdad believed that Soviet military doctrine had failed to raise the proficiency of the Iraqi armed forces, and as a result abandoned much of the Soviet military that it had tried to learn in during the early 1970s. As Pollack notes,

> Baghdad never had Soviet advisers attached to its operational units in the manner of Egypt and Syria, but there were instructors who trained Iraqi personnel in certain operations. These men were sent home, and only those Soviets needed to teach weapons instruction and technical subjects were retained.[384]

[383] Hussein interview with Helms in Christine Moss Helms, *President Hussein Interviewed by American Researcher* (Baghdad: Dar al-Mamun for Translation and Publishing, 1983.)
[384] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 177.

During the 1980s, contrary to predictions by the defence dependence theory, overall Iraqi dependence on its predominant military supplier, the Soviet Union, actually decreased during the war as more military partners became willing to supply Baghdad with weapons. Furthermore, even though Moscow placed an official arms embargo on Baghdad at the start of the Iran-Iraq War, Baghdad continued to receive Soviet military supplies and spare-parts primarily through intermediaries such as Poland, which transferred them first to countries like Saudi Arabia, and then to Iraq.[385] Although there were several thousand Soviet military advisers in Iraq during the war, the Kremlin was unable to influence Iraq's security policy during the war. The files at the SHC confirm what a Soviet diplomat told Timmerman in the late 1980s:

> We [Soviet military advisors] never succeeded in penetrating the Iraqi high command, or the centres of decision-making within the Baath party [during the 1980s.] It is incorrect to speak of Soviet military personnel in Iraq as 'advisors' as you normally understand the term. They were more like contract employees working for an authoritarian employer.[386]

Moscow was unable to persuade Baghdad to end the Iran-Iraq War during the early 1980s and had to concede to Baghdad's requests for military aid while Iraqi military power continued to expand at unprecedentedly rates. Iraq's political-military decision-makers, who were largely insulated from the immediate effects of the war, had the following exchange in January 1981:

> *Head of the Intelligence Service*: On the 5th or 10th of February next month, the big arms deal, which consists of 300 tanks, will begin.
> *Chief of Army Staff*: Yes. This transaction will improve our situation much.
> *President*: What's bad with our situation? (Laughter).
> *Chief of Army Staff*: Then we will have a total of 500 additional tanks that are good and 200 tanks (interfered talk).
> *President:* Then the number of tanks that you will have will be more than what you had before the start of the war.[387]

[385] Helms, *Iraq*, 177.
[386] Soviet diplomat quoted in Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 91.
[387] SH-SHTP-D-000-572, 1981.

The same sentiment was expressed later in the war. In a meeting with senior military officials during the mid-1980s, two unidentified military officers conveyed how the conventional military balance of the Iraqi armed forces was improving:

> Male 1: Many [countries] were making fun of the [Iraqi] army shortly before the war started, saying it had only as few as 2,400 or 2,500 tanks. [However, now the situation is different.]
>
> Male 2: Nobody can purchase as much as you did [speaking of Hussein.].[388]

While in large part the conversations above were driven by the dynamics of Iraqi political and military institutions (in particular Hussein's authoritarian nature),[389] the content was also in large part true. For example, by 1984 Iraq's inventory of tanks had roughly doubled to roughly 4,920 since the start of the war.[390] Therefore, from the perspective of the Baathist leadership the war – which was originally meant to simply deter a threat – ultimately came to represent an opportunity to expand the country's armed forces, something which the Baathist leadership was looking to do in the previous decade. Hussein's prediction that his generals will emerge with a larger military force turned out to be true: between 1980 and 1988, Iraq's supply of tanks, combat aircraft, and major artillery pieces more than tripled and its reserves of helicopters and armoured fighting vehicles both doubled.[391]

Moscow's inability to influence Iraq's security policy was not necessarily a structural one (i.e. one that is inherent to all security cooperation relationships), but rather a direct result of the Baathist regime's strategic choices. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, for example, the Kremlin was able to influence Egypt's security policy. In that period there were over 10,000

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[388] SH-SHTP-A-000-627, 1983-1984.
[389] Sassoon notes that Saddam "had a habit of micromanaging," although during the Iran-Iraq War he "allowed the military more flexibility in conducting the war without constantly intervening." See Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 138.
[390] Mofid, *The Economic Consequences of the Gulf War*, 88.
[391] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 272; Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces,* 143.

Soviet personnel stationed in various military bases around Egypt. Soviet advisers in Egypt did not just provide technical instruction, but worked to reshape the Egyptian officer corps and improve the Egyptian military command structure. According to Glassman, in the period between 1967 and 1972 Soviet military advisors were instrumental in transforming the Egyptian officer corps, which they worked in close tandem with.[392] Nothing of this sort happened in terms of foreign military advising in Iraq under the Baathist regime, which remained suspicious of foreign influence and believed that they must pursue an independent course since "the states that supply us [with arms] do not necessarily agree with us in all our aims."[393]

Iraqi Internal Affairs

Between 1968 and 1975, the Soviet Union exercised a modicum of influence vis-à-vis Iraq and the ICP, the latter being allied with Moscow. Following the increase of Soviet military aid to Baghdad in 1972 and the incorporation of Communist party members into Iraqi decision-making, U.S. National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger told President Richard Nixon that Iraq had become "the principal Soviet client in the Middle East."[394] For the majority of the period under study (1975-1990), however, Moscow's attempt to use military aid in exchange for greater integration of Communist parties into Iraqi decision-making was counterproductive due to Iraqi suspicions of Soviet motives. Baathist leaders viewed Soviet attempts to alter the Iraqi political system as ultimately aimed at overthrowing the Baathist regime and replacing it with Iraq's Communist Party. From 1975 onwards the Baathists had come to dominate Iraqi politics. During the late 1970s, Soviet attempts to prevent the Baathist regime from executing ICP

[392] Glassman, *Arms for the Arabs*, 67-68.
[393] Iskander, *Saddam Hussein*, chapter 6.
[394] For example, see U.S. State Department Documents 207 and 233, 1973.

members and communist sympathisers in the Iraqi military backfired. As Tareq Ismael correctly observes, the Baath Party "identified the Brezhnev pleas [to give clemency to the communist party] as a communist gambit that represented an act of overt Soviet interference in Iraq's internal political affairs."[395] When Moscow again called for the crackdown of ICP members to end, the Baath Party proceeded to execute more communist party members.

As the evidence above shows, during the 1980s ICP members was again excluded from participating in Iraqi politics, had little contact with Soviet officials, and were unaware of Baathist-led Iraqi-Soviet negotiations. While defence dependence theory predicts that political parties in recipient states may benefit from increased military cooperation between the recipient state's government and a supplier state has links to that political party, the empirical evidence in the case of Iraq showed that the opposite was true. Importantly, the few academics who have studied Iraqi-Soviet relations during this period closely, such as Oles Smolansky, had come to a conclusion that was closer to reality, and therefore very different from the predictions that the simple 'strong donor-weak client' framework that defence dependence offers. His study of the Iraqi-Soviet relationship concluded that Soviet attempts to exercise influence over Iraq ended in "a crushing failure":

> The equilibrium in Soviet-Iraqi relations had apparently shifted by 1975, so that the extent of the USSR's investment in the relationship, ironically, had become a source of leverage for Iraq. In the case of the ICP, the Kremlin had to acquiesce to Baghdad's decision [to jail Iraqi communists] or sever the relationship, which it was unwilling to do. The entire episode demonstrated… the limits of great power influence, especially with respect to the internal affairs of putative clients.[396]

During the 1980s, there were some attempts by Washington to improve Iraq's human rights records. For the most part, however, despite condemnations, the United States did not impose economic or military sanctions on Iraq until after the war had ended. In fact, American

[395] Ismael, *The Rise and Fall of the Communist Party of Iraq*, 181.
[396] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq,* 284.

officials often expressed more concern about Iranian use of chemical weapons, even though the latter had shown less propensity to use such weapons in battle than did Iraq. Despite the rhetoric of Western powers linking military aid to human rights, Baghdad continued to receive military aid even though it had used over one hundred thousand chemical munitions against the Kurds and the Iranian military during the Iran-Iraq War.[397]

CONCLUSIONS

In 1981 Pajak predicted that Moscow "will continue to use arms transfers as a primary foreign policy instrument for maintaining and expanding Soviet influence in the Third World [which will accentuate recipients' defence] dependence."[398] Contrary to expectations, during most of the period (1975-1990) Moscow was able to exercise only a limited amount of influence over Iraq's foreign, security, and internal policies. The Iraqi government minimised supplier influence by insulating foreign military advisors which were in the country and observing their movement within Iraq; by purging elements of the Iraqi armed forces which the Baathist regime deemed were "Soviet-backed"; and by eliminating any internal political parties which had external support. In 1981, a Baathist official expressed Iraq's outlook on Moscow's relationship with Baghdad:

> [Over the past few years, Moscow has] come to understand that [the Baathist] leadership will not allow the Communist Party to be an active participant in the government… When [the Soviets] realised that this regime and this leadership are truly independent and are enemies of the imperialists [the Soviets were] very happy to find a country that is an enemy of the imperialists on the condition that it does not curtail [Soviet] influence in the region.[399]

[397] Woods, Palkki, and Stout, *The Saddam Tapes*, 220.
[398] Pajak, "Soviet Arms Transfers," 172.
[399] Unidentified Iraqi official in SH-SHTP-A-000-711, 1981.

Here an important caveat must be made about the case of "alternative suppliers," the term that Mott uses to describe military suppliers that form between 10% and 49% of a recipient's military imports. China and France each fall under that category, as they respectively provided 16% and 15% of Iraq's military aid during the 1980s.[400] As Mott would predict, both countries had negligible influence over the supplier. But the key point here was that neither of these suppliers sought to gain any structural influence over Iraqi political-military decision-making. In large part, for these suppliers as well as for some suppliers that formed a smaller percentage of Iraq's military imports, arms were transferred to Iraq to sustain or strengthen the domestic industrial base alive,[401] to gain greater access to oil resources,[402] or both. (The economic aspects of Iraq's military imports will be discussed in greater detail in chapter six.) From an Iraqi government perspective, the decision to enhance its security cooperation relationship with financially-motivated suppliers was a strategically correct one: arms imports from China, France, and other countries increased Iraqi military power while allowing Baathist leaders greater freedom to pursue their own policies.

[400] SIPRI, *Iraqi Military Imports*, 1980-1990.
[401] This was especially true for France's defence industry, which was then, as now, reliant on exporting military hardware to keep its own domestic defence industrial base alive. Other countries also supported Iraq purely for commercial purposes during the Iran-Iraq War. See Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 238-319.
[402] This was particularly the case during the 1970s, when the largest importers of Iraqi oil were also those that were Iraq's primarily military suppliers. The largest importers of Iraqi oil during the 1970s were France, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom. Western European countries, Australia, the United States, and Japan accounted for roughly two-thirds of Iraqi oil exports during the late 1970s. The rest went primarily to Eastern bloc countries. See Mofid, *The Economic Consequences of the Gulf War*, 36-37.

CHAPTER FIVE: RECIPIENT COUNTER-DEPENDENCE

As chapter two pointed out, a number of scholars have argued that although military diversification may be used to mitigate defence dependence, in practice most recipient states find it difficult to do so for a variety of reasons (political, economic, military or technological.)[1] In addition, suppliers are often said to have such coercive power over recipients that they can easily manipulate security cooperation relationships to increase the recipient's dependence on them.[2] This chapter argues that, contrary to predictions in current literature on arms imports, the Iraqi government adopted a number of strategies that mitigated its defence dependence. Firstly, it diversified its sources of military suppliers. While during the late 1960s Iraq had about three suppliers, by the 1980s it had over twenty suppliers across numerous political blocs and from all continents; meanwhile, the share of Soviet arms as part of total Iraqi imports fell from over 95% during the mid-1970s to about one-half during much of the 1980s. Secondly, the Iraqi government invested a lot in the creation of an indigenous military industry. By the end of the late-1980s, over 100,000 Iraqis were working on projects related to Iraq's military industry,

[1] Knorr, *Economic Issues and National Security*, 187. See chapter two for a wider discussion.
[2] Wulf, "Dependent Militarism in the Periphery and Possible Alternative Concepts," in Neuman and Harkavy (editors), *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 246-263.

which emerged as the most robust one in the Arab world. Thirdly, the Baathist regime adopted a number of other strategies that included placing greater emphasis on building constituency groups within supplier states; investing in the production of less-costly weapons which it could produce indigenously and which would have a greater psychological impact on its enemies; and improving its ability to stockpile weapons and war materiel.

PART I: 1968 – 1980

1. Military Diversification

When the Baath Party took over in the late 1960s, Iraq's predominant supplier of conventional weapons was the Soviet Union.[3] In the period between 1968 and 1975, Moscow accounted for some 96% of all conventional military transfers to Baghdad.[4] Nevertheless, following Moscow's imposition of an arms embargo on Iraq between 1968 and 1969, the Baathist leadership realised early in its reign that it would have to diversify its military suppliers if it wanted to ensure its survival. In April 1974, Iraqi Vice President Hussein set up a tight-knit Strategic Planning Committee (SPC) which was charged with the long-term could of making sure that the Iraqi military would never be dependent on a single supplier as it had been during the Soviet arms embargo in the late 1960s. Three people made up the SPC: Hussein himself, General Adnan Khairallah (Hussein's cousin and brother-in-law who later became Iraq's Minister of Defence

[3] Up until the overthrow of the Hashemite Kingdom in 1958, Iraq's main military suppliers were Western countries, including the United Kingdom and the United States. During the 1960s Iraq gradually shifted its military suppliers to the east. For a fairly comprehensive account of the Iraqi military before 1968, including its relationships with outside suppliers, see Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 11-104.
[4] SIPRI, *Iraqi Military Imports*, 1968-1975.

during the 1980s), and Adnan Hamdani (Iraq's first deputy prime minister and a lawyer.) General Khairallah was in charge of the military side of the Committee (i.e. testing the military capability of weapons), while Hamdani served as the chief negotiator with foreign government officials and defence industry representatives.[5] In November and December 1974, the three SPC members met with French Prime Minister Jacques Chirac to discuss the future of French civilian and military exports to Iraq.[6] During negotiations in Paris and Baghdad later in the same year, the Iraqis requested from the French side two important sources of armaments that the Baathist leadership deemed crucial to Iraqi military power: Mirage fighters and nuclear technology.

On December 2, 1974, following three days of talks in Baghdad, Chirac announced that "the Iraqi and French sides have agreed to develop joint cooperation in the field of electronic, petroleum industry and nuclear energy."[7] Later on the same day, both sides issued a joint statement which "asserted the desire of France to cooperate with each other in all fields."[8] The Iraqi and French announcements left out a critical part of the outcome of negotiations, in which Baghdad committed to buying billions of dollars' in military equipment from Paris. Later, in March and September 1975, Hussein, Hamdani, and Iraqi military officers met with the French President, Prime Minister, Defence Minister, and a number of French defence industry representatives from companies such as *Dassault* and *Snecma* to look at purchasing Mirage F-1 fighters, Jaguar fighter-bombers, and Alpha jet trainers.[9] In the discussions, Hussein insisted that *Dassault* provide some of the most advanced weapon systems used by the French Air Force.

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[5] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 44.
[6] FBIS-MEA-74-232, "Al-Jamhurriya Editorial on [France's Forthcoming] Visit [to Baghdad],"*Baghdad Domestic Service* (December 2, 1974.)
[7] FBIS-MEA-74-233, "French Prime Minister Holds Press Conference," *Baghdad INA* (December 3, 1974); FBIS-MEA-74-234, "Chirac, Husayn Speak at Signing," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (December 4, 1974.)
[8] FBIS-MEA-74-234, "Joint Statement Issued," *Baghdad Domestic Television Service* (December 2, 1974.) Emphasis added.
[9] Helms, *Iraq*, 150.

Furthermore, the Baathist delegation told French political-military decision-makers that they wanted *Dassault* to build an aircraft assembly line in Iraq and train thousands of Iraqi workers.[10] The delivery of French military equipment to Iraq was slow, but gradually a variety of arms – including Alouette helicopters[11] – began to filter into an Iraqi military that between 1968 and 1975 was primarily reliant on Soviet weapons.

At this early stage of Iraqi military diversification, the Baath Party's key ambition was not necessarily to start the deliveries of Western military equipment as soon as possible but to convince the Kremlin that Baghdad was looking to other viable military partnerships. In fact, although the specific details of the French arms deals often remained secret at first, the general expansion of Franco-Iraqi military, industrial, and nuclear cooperation became well-publicised in the press in 1975.[12] The strategy of making the Kremlin afraid of losing Baghdad as a partner worked: Moscow continued to provide military aid during the 1974-1975 campaign. Although some authors suggest that there was a "Soviet arms embargo" during this period,[13] Moscow actually increased its military aid to Baghdad during this period, particularly starting in the latter half of 1974.[14] Furthermore, evidence in the SHC suggests that Iraq did receive military aid during this period, although not as much as the Baathist leadership had wanted. For example, at a 1980 Iraqi government meeting Hussein refers to sending an Iraqi "staff commander to the Soviet Union [in early 1975] where he signed an [arms] agreement. They told him they had only 1,200 artillery rounds,"[15] an amount that was smaller than the Iraqi government was hoping for

[10] The deal was rejected by the French, who feared that the Iraqi project would undermine French defence industry. Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 96.
[11] IISS, *Military Balance 1975*, 90.
[12] For example, see FBIS-MEA-75-013, 1975; FBIS-MEA-75-223, "French Industry Minister Arrives on 3-Day Visit," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (November 18, 1975.)
[13] For example, see Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 168.
[14] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 89.
[15] SH-SHTP-A-000-835, 1980.

relative to the high-demand for arms during the counterinsurgency campaign. Nevertheless, the continuation of any modicum of Soviet military aid to Iraq during the second Baathist counterinsurgency campaign was a significant shift from Moscow's use of military aid to Baghdad during the late 1960s. The shift in Soviet military aid policies vis-à-vis Iraq seems to have been caused, at least in part, by Baghdad's military diversification program.

The Baath Party's commitment to diversification continued after the end of the counterinsurgency campaign and seems to have had the same effect on Soviet decision-making. For example, following the delivery of French arms to the Iraqi military in 1975, Tariq Aziz travelled to Moscow in July 1976 and concluded the largest Soviet-Iraqi arms deal up to that time. Worth over a billion dollars, the package included the delivery of the MiG-23 (then the latest Soviet fighter), advanced air combat missiles, and an accelerated training program for IQAF officers and mechanics. Meanwhile, in June 1977 Paris signed a $1.8 billion deal with Iraq, which included the delivery of 72 Mirage F-1 aircraft, four twin-seat trainers, advanced missiles to go under the Mirage fighters, training programs for Iraqi pilots and maintenance personnel by French contractors, and modifications to Iraqi hangars and other ground installations to accommodate non-Soviet aircraft. According to the French press, Iraqi imports of French arms during the late 1970s included "Panhard armoured cars equipped with antitank missiles, mortars and laser equipment, as well as Alouette helicopters armed with guns [and the expected delivery of] Mirage 2000 [aircraft.]"[16] In total, between 1978 and 1980, Iraq ordered an estimated $4-billion worth of French arms alone. In addition to purchasing conventional arms from France, Baghdad was also investing in greater nuclear cooperation with Paris; by 1977, nearly 500 French technicians were building a "nuclear research centre" in Iraq.[17]

[16] FBIS-MEA-77-140, "Le Monde Gives Details of Arms Deal with Iraq," *Le Monde* (July 21, 1977.)
[17] FBIS-MEA-77-123, "France to Sell Mirages," *Paris Domestic Service* (June 27, 1977.)

Of greatest concern to Moscow was the fact that the contract included the French providing maintenance services to Soviet military equipment.[18] Soviet authorities were in fact infuriated by Iraq's military diversification program and attempted to dissuade the Baathist leadership from signing these arms deals.[19] According to the French newspaper *Le Monde*, "military deals between Iraq and France have taken place despite strong commercial and political pressures on the part of the Soviet Union on the Baghdad authorities."[20] To counteract the increased penetration of French arms into Iraq, Moscow first offered Baghdad more MiG-23s at concessionary prices, then threatened to call Iraq's debt, and finally threatened to cut off Soviet military exports completely if Baghdad continued to purchase French weapons. Ultimately, however, Moscow did not follow up on its threats, as it seemed to make almost no impact on the Baathist leadership. Instead, in 1978, the Kremlin signed a $3-billion arms package for 138 MiG-23/27 fighter bombers; half-dozen SCUD-B missile launchers; up to 16 of the Soviet airlift command's largest troop and equipment transport; and large quantities of Mi-8 troops transport helicopters. In the next year, Baghdad ordered SA-6 anti-aircraft missile batteries, MiG-25 reconnaissance planes, and ordnance for MiG-23s.[21]

In addition to increasing its inventory of both Soviet and French weapons, Baghdad also reached out to other countries for arms during the late 1970s, including Great Britain, West Germany, Brazil, and other non-Soviet bloc states.[22] In 1976 and 1977, Iraq signed a number of economic and trade agreements with Brazil, which paved the way for Baghdad to start importing

[18] FBIS-MEA-77-140, 1977.
[19] As part of the agreements in the mid-1970s, France also offered to provide maintenance services on some Soviet military equipment, which infuriated the Kremlin further. See FBIS-MEA-77-140, 1977.
[20] FBIS-MEA-77-140, 1977.
[21] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 74 – 122.
[22] FBIS-MEA-78-128, "Iraq Reportedly Seeking Arms from West," *Doha QNA* (July 1, 1978.)

arms in later years.[23] In 1978, Iraq bought 200 Cascavel armoured personnel carriers from Great Britain, ten frigates and corvettes from Italy, and a number of armoured fighting vehicles from Brazil.[24] By the end of the decade, Iraq's diverse list of military suppliers included the USSR, France, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, the United Kingdom, Italy, and Brazil.[25]

2. Indigenous Production

One of the core assertions of defence dependence theory is that military imports create "new forms of dominance and dependence" on the supplier state.[26] To mitigate the potential of long-run dependence, a second option that is available to recipient states – in addition to military diversification – is investing in indigenous military production. While the majority of the growth of the Iraqi armed forces during the 1970s came through foreign military aid, the Baathist leadership gradually began to invest in the long-term development of an indigenous defence industry, especially after the founding of the aforementioned SPC in 1974. In developing an indigenous military industry, the planning council recognised two realities: (1) Iraq would not be able to develop an indigenous military industry overnight; (2) it would have to continue importing arms from foreign suppliers for a considerable time before Iraq had its own capability. Hussein expressed these points in a meeting of the SPC in 1977:

> At this time... we are not capable of manufacturing all the needs of our army, and we cannot do so without signing armament agreements with [other] countries that are the source of the weapons we require for our army… However, does this mean we stand with our hands tied behind our backs because of the lost investments or other expenses in the field of military manufacturing? The answer is no, because this would mean that we will forever have to accept the present circumstances… We

[23] FBIS-MEA-76-143, "Iraq, Brazil Adopt Measures to Increase Cooperation," *Baghdad INA* (July 22, 1976); FBIS-MEA-77-090, "Brazilian Industry Minister Arrives in Baghdad," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (May 8, 1977); FBIS-MEA-77-093, "Cooperation With Brazil," *Baghdad INA* (May 12, 1977); FBIS-MEA-79-094, "Vice President Leaves on Latin American Tour," *Baghdad INA* (May 13, 1979.)
[24] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 123.
[25] SIPRI, *Iraqi Military Imports*, 1970-1979.
[26] Wulf, "Dependent Militarism in the Periphery," in Neuman and Harkavy (editors), *Arms Transfers in the Modern World*, 246.

> must therefore [invest] in the field of weapons' manufacturing in a way that is suitable to [Iraqi] aims.[27]

As can be seen by the quote above, the Baathist leadership's long-term vision was very ambitious, if not completely unrealistic. In essence, over the long term, the Baath Party set the bar for Iraq's defence industry to reach the same level as the U.S. military industry or its allies; it is unclear whether Hussein or other Iraqi political leaders actually believed that this was feasible, or simply thought that Iraq's military industry would benefit from setting the bar very high.[28] However, the rationale for building an indigenous military industry was explained later in the meeting in the following terms:

> Based on my understanding, as time goes on, there will be some sort of agreement between the largest industrial nations, to monopolise certain types of industries, to remain in control and keep other countries as recipients, if not slaves, for a long period of time.[29]

To an extent, the quote above reflects an Iraqi "defence dependence" view of the international arms market. While realising the military imports were still necessary, Baathist leaders wanted to minimise their dependence on external sources in order to avoid becoming "slaves" to – or dependent on– the "monopolistic" defence companies of the industrialised world; they could avoid becoming dependent on military suppliers if they invested in building an indigenous military within Iraq. The approach to military imports displayed in these statements illustrates that the Baathist leadership was cognizant that the building of long-term Iraqi military power would need to come from both internal and external sources. The military, technological, and even societal transformation that the Baathist leadership sought over the long-term was encapsulated in the aforementioned meeting of the SPC:

> 1 — We [Iraq] must prepare ourselves to deal with and understand technology and science well. Therefore we must give importance to the research centres and to the preparation of personnel. We

[27] SH-RVCC-D-000-805, 1977.
[28] In a sense, Hussein's full-quote above turned out to be a self-fulfilling prophecy when Iraq, by then truly one of the largest militaries in the world, faced the U.S. military in 1990.
[29] SH-RVCC-D-000-805, 1977.

> must also pay attention to and study the latest science and technology developments... In order for us to become an *industrial, developed country* in a way that is suitable with our objectives, we must master a way to deal with science and technology as invented by others, in the first phase of our work.
> 2 — The second point is to adjust [foreign] technology to our way of life and also adjust the directions of using science. We must not adopt all the [foreign] innovations of science and technology and apply them as is, but rather adjust them or some of them to comply with our political, social, economic and other objectives.
> 3 — The third point is manufacturing: we must manufacture in our special ways that are suitable to our national objectives and ambitions. We will not shy away from manufacturing what we can buy and will not manufacture all we can manufacture… We must prepare ourselves in the field of weapons' manufacturing in a way that is suitable to [our aims, not those of] the weapons' exporting countries.[30]

In contrast to other countries in the Arab Gulf which looked for outside powers to guarantee their security, the Baathist government linked Iraq's indigenous military production capability directly to its national security. Non-Soviet sources often proved more important in acquiring technology transfers necessary for the development of an Iraqi military industry. In fact, during the 1970s the Kremlin normally refused to share with Iraqis any information on how to manufacture advanced arms indigenously or conduct maintenance on sophisticated weaponry. For example, Soviet aircraft engines had to be shipped back to the USSR for repair rather than be fixed in Iraq, because Moscow was worried that Baghdad might secretly gain information on how to manufacture them. In addition, when Baathist leaders approached the Soviet Union on acquiring advanced nuclear technology, they were rejected by the Kremlin. The French defence industry, meanwhile, offered Baghdad a different arrangement: as long as Iraq paid, the French were willing to sell them not just the equipment, but the expertise to manufacture it. In March 1975, representatives of the three most important French defence companies travelled to Iraq; during discussions in Baghdad, Baathist officials expressed an interest not only to purchase advanced French fighters, but to set up "an engine overhaul facility in Iraq for the Mirage F1."[31] After a two-day visit to Baghdad in June 1975, French Prime Minister Barre affirmed Paris'

[30] SH-RVCC-D-000-805, 1977. Emphasis added.
[31] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 53.

commitment to assist Iraq in the fields of "industrialisation, technology, and finance," and noted that France is

> Considering the expansion of cooperation in the training of cadres and technicians needed by Iraq... I hope that by doing so, we will be serving economic and manpower development in Iraq... [France] fully realises the desire of a country like Iraq to protect its independence by every means available to it.[32]

On November 18, 1975, Baghdad signed a multi-billion dollar cooperation agreement with Paris "in the field of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy"[33] which stipulated that France would train up to 600 Iraqi nuclear scientists. In a $2 billion arms deal which was signed later in the decade, France agreed to an "Iraqi share in the production of the Mirage 2000."[34] Furthermore, over the following years an estimated 3,000-4,000 Iraqis went to France to receive basic training courses in electronics and specialised courses in particular branches of production technologies. Some Iraqi students were sent to Thomson training centres across France to learn the secrets of the latest combat radar then being supplied to Iraq for its Mirage fighter-bombers and "master the art of fooling… electronic countermeasures, designed to protect NATO aircraft from attack by enemy missiles and planes."[35] Furthermore, during the mid-1970s, a Palestinian consulting group named Arab Projects and Development (APD) was contracted by the Baathist government to reorganise Iraq's higher education system; through APD's efforts, the number of Iraqi students in technical fields grew to roughly 120,000 students. As part of its efforts, APD itself also hired about 4,000 scientists and researchers to work in Iraq on industrial projects, including some that were then tied to Iraq's nascent but growing military industry.[36]

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[32] FBIS-MEA-77-123, "French Premier Barre Pays 2-Day Visit to Iraq," *Baghdad INA* (June 27, 1977.)
[33] FBIS-MEA-75-224, 1975.
[34] "[Iraqi] Air Force," *Federation of American Scientists* (November 3, 1998) <fas.org/nuke/guide/Iraq/agency/af.htm.>
[35] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 118. French soldiers were withdrawn from NATO's integrated military command structure in 1966 and only re-joined NATO's command structure in 2009.
[36] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 123.

During the late 1970s, Iraq signed technical, scientific, nuclear, and military cooperation agreements – focused on the imports of goods as well as technology transfers- with countries as diverse as Belgium, Brazil, Jordan, Finland, France, Venezuela, Yugoslavia, and West Germany, amongst others.[37] Iraq was slowly beginning to extricate itself from its reliance on Soviet-bloc states (which not only had inferior weapons but also often refused to transfer requisite technologies), and opening up to imports of technological knowledge from Western countries. Additionally, the Baathist regime was interested not so much in importing industrial capabilities, but in transforming Iraqi society and economy so that it could take become a regional leader in economic, technological, and scientific terms. As Christopher Lucas writes, "Virtually alone among the Arab oil-producing states, Iraq was determined not to depend upon outside foreign (i.e., non-Arab) labour, but to generate the technological expertise demanded by its national development scheme almost entirely from within the indigenous population."[38] (The next chapter discusses in greater detail the Iraqi government's socio-economic plans during this period.)

3. Diplomacy, Less-Costly Weapons, and Stockpiling

The most important efforts that helped the Iraqi military grow during the 1970s was the Iraqi government's diplomatic outreach, not so much to the Baath Party's natural allies (the USSR and other Socialist bloc states), but to Western countries, in particular France and the United States.

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[37] FBIS-MEA-78-011, "[Iraqi-Finnish Cooperation] Minutes Signed," *Baghdad INA* (January 1, 1978); FBIS-MEA-78-082, "Belgian Delegation Signs Economic Cooperation Minutes," *Baghdad INA* (April 27, 1978); FBIS-MEA-78-189, "[Iraqi Oil Minister's] Lecture at Symposium [in Oslo]," *Baghdad INA* (September 29, 1978); FBIS-MEA-79-192, "Minutes on Joint [Iraqi-Brazilian] Cooperation Signed," *Baghdad INA* (October 2, 1979); FBIS-MEA-78-194, "[Jordan's] Scientific, Technical Cooperation Protocol Signed with Iraq," *Amman JNA* (October 5, 1978); FBIS-MEA-79-228, "Venezuelan Energy Minister Arrives 26 Nov," *Baghdad INA* (November 26, 1979); FBIS-EEU-80-005, "Joint [Iraqi-Yugoslavian] Communiqué," *Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service* (January 6, 1980.)

[38] Christopher Lucas, "Arab Illiteracy and the Mass Literacy Campaign in Iraq," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (Feb., 1981), 79.

Importantly, the Baathist regime tailored its messaging to each one of its primary military suppliers. With regard to Moscow, Iraqi officials recognised that in order to continue getting military aid from Moscow they needed to do two things: (1) not to aggravate the Kremlin unnecessarily, which meant in part voicing their concerns privately rather than publicly; and (2) to make Soviet officials believe that the Baath Party was committed to "anti-imperialism."[39] The latter was done largely by conveying to Soviet diplomats that the Iraqi regime stood with the Kremlin in the "international struggle against imperialism." For example, when a Soviet "friendship delegation" attended a celebration in Iraq as part of the "Iraqi-Soviet friendship week" in January 1974, "representatives of the [Baath] party... welcomed the Soviet friends and lauded the Iraqi-Soviet treaty which has changed the relations between the two countries into strategic stands against the imperialist forces in the world."[40] Following a visit in 1975 by Iraqi Vice President Hussein to East Germany (which was then a Soviet bloc state), a joint statement was issued in Baghdad and Berlin which highlighted "the successes [that the Baathists] achieved in the struggle to eliminate imperialism" and "announced [Baghdad's and Berlin's] continued support in all domains for the people who are still enduring the yoke of imperialism."[41]

At the same time Iraqi leaders were also pursuing an opening with both Paris and Washington. With regard to the former, Baathist officials convinced French diplomats that the Iraqi government had legitimate political aspirations: i.e. that the ruling Baath Party was pursuing goals and policies which were ones that any "normal" state would pursue. For example, following a two-day visit by French Prime Minister Raymond Barre to Baghdad in 1977, France and Iraq issued a joint statement which read:

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[39] See discussion in SH-SHTP-A-000-711, 1981.
[40] FBIS-MEA-74-005, "Soviet Friendship Delegation Attends Celebration," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (January 8, 1974.)
[41] FBIS-EEU-75-093, "Joint Statement," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (May 11, 1975.)

> The two sides [France and Iraq] agreed to assert the commitments of their two governments to the principles of national independence, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other countries, and cooperation… The two sides affirmed the need to tackle international problems through peaceful means in accordance with the UN Charter and international law and treaties… The two sides also asserted the significance of the dialogue between the industrialised and developing countries to resolve the problems of inflation, energy, raw materials, and development.[42]

The joint statement with France left out any discussions about "anti-imperialism" and instead stressed issues such as national independence, international law, and non-interference, which policymakers in Paris were comfortable with supporting. Iraqi officials also reached out directly to influential French defence companies, such as *Dassault* and *Aerospatiale*, which had close links to politicians in Paris and which wanted to export French arms abroad.[43] During the 1970s, Iraqi leaders, including Hussein and the other two members of the SPC, visited France on numerous occasions to meet with French officials while French defence industry representatives frequently visited Iraq to discuss potential arms sales. By highlighting the commercial benefits that the French defence industry could derive from close security cooperation, Iraqi leaders ensured that they had a powerful ally in Paris.

Perhaps the most unexpected element of the Baath Party's program was its diplomatic outreach to Washington. In July 1973, Vice President Hussein received journalists from three key American, French, and British newspapers: *New York Times*, *Le Monde*, and the London *Observer*, respectively. The *New York Times* reported on July 15, 1973 that "in an interview with three Western correspondents, Mr. Hussein said Iraq would welcome moves by the United States and Britain that would lead to normalization of relations with Iraq."[44] A telegram from the U.S. Interests Section in Baghdad on the same day noted that "at the end of the interview, [Hussein] spent an hour asking journalists questions on such topics as Iraq's image in the

[42] FBIS-MEA-77-123, "Joint Statement Issued," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (June 26, 1977.)
[43] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 77-79.
[44] "News Summary and Index," *New York Times* (July 15, 1973), 99.

West."[45] Meanwhile, in January 1974 Iraq's President al-Bakr sent a letter to U.S. President Nixon in January 1974 in response to an American effort to hold a conference for the world's major energy consumers and producers in the wake of the October 1973 OPEC oil embargo, which read:

> His Excellency Richard Nixon, president of the United States of America:
>
> I have received your message in which you suggest the holding of a meeting between the major energy-consuming and energy-producing states for the purpose of organising affairs concerning imports and prices.
>
> At a time when I full realise the great importance of this matter, I wish to express the Iraqi government's view… We feel that there is a tendency to define the states that consume energy as a certain number of major, advanced industrial states, while in fact all the states of the world consumer energy at some rate. If the question of energy is of great importance to a number of major industrial states because these states have colossal industrial and military machines, a high standard of living, and extensive information and political potentials, the other states that consume energy, particularly the poorer ones, are also suffering greatly in this regard to the extent that it gravely affects the securing of the basic requirements for their livelihood and their dire need for development... Therefore, we believe that the entire world community, for the sake of its own welfare and prosperity, should participate in any organization on energy imports and prices.
>
> Signed, Ahmad Hasan al-Bakr, president of the Iraqi Republic.[46]

While Al-Bakr's letter to Nixon was portrayed by the Baath Party's daily newspaper, *al-Thawra*, as taking a stridently "anti-imperialist" stance,[47] in reality the majority of the letter to Nixon was couched in non-ideological terms. For example, Al-Bakr's message noted that "we [the Iraqi government] consider the United Nations and its specialised organizations to be the best framework for discussing this issue and other vital matters we have referred to in this message."[48] American officials were surprised at the pragmatic tone of the Baathist regime. In a

[45] U.S. State Department Document 223, "Telegram from the Interests Section in Baghdad to the Department of State," July 15, 1973.
[46] FBIS-MEA-74-017, "Al-Bakr Replies to Nixon on Energy Matters," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (January 23, 1974.)
[47] FBIS-MEA-74-019, "Baghdad Press Comments on Nixon Statement, Al-Bakr Reply," *Baghdad INA* (January 27, 1974.)
[48] FBIS-MEA-74-017, 1974.

memorandum sent to U.S. Secretary of State Kissinger a few days after Al-Bakr's letter was received by Nixon, Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance William Donaldson wrote,

> President Bakr's reply to President Nixon's energy letter seems remarkable for its moderation and absence of polemic… With the exception of certain references to "imperialism" and "monopolies," there is no direct attack against the United States and no mention of the Arab-Israeli conflict…. Bakr's reply… is not merely an exercise in propaganda, but is meant to be constructive.[49]

Some American diplomats recognised the elements of pragmatism in the Iraqi government while others continued to believe that the "Soviets remain a major factor in Iraq and that Iraqi policies remain far from amenable to Iranian and U.S. interests."[50] Consequently, Washington continued to provide aid to the Kurds during the period between 1974 and 1975 in order to undermine the "Soviet-client state of Iraq."[51] Nevertheless, even during the Iraqi central government's fighting against the Kurdish insurgency in the north (when Baghdad was aware of covert U.S. and Iranian aid to the Kurds), Baathist officials continued to reach out to American diplomats in order to improve bilateral relations.[52]

While not necessarily ground-breaking, the Baath Party's initial diplomatic outreach to Washington in the early-to-mid 1970s ultimately did over time persuade some U.S. officials that Iraq was a country that it could find some common ground with. When Boeing representatives contacted the U.S. government in December 1974 to get approval for selling aircraft to Iraq, David Korn, a senior State Department official, recommended that "the [State] Department

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[49] U.S. State Department Document 241, "Memorandum from the Under Secretary of State for Security Assistance (Donaldson) to Secretary of State Kissinger," January 30, 1974.
[50] U.S. State Department Document 256, "Telegram from the Department of State to the Embassy in Iran," August 5, 1974.
[51] Importantly, the U.S. Interests Section in Baghdad argued, ultimately to no avail, that, "if we are interested in working toward improving relations with Iraq, I believe time has come to disassociate ourselves from Kurdish requests for U.S. military assistance." It also noted that "however distasteful" the Baathist regime is to the United States, the Iraqi government is "essentially a nationalist regime," i.e. a non-ideological, non-fundamentalist. See U.S. State Department Document 220, "Telegram from the Interests Section in Baghdad to the Department of State," July 1, 1973.
[52] Iraqi diplomatic outreach during that period was done primarily through the U.S. Interests Section in Baghdad. See, for example, U.S. Department of State Document 260, "Telegram from the Interests Section in Baghdad to the Department of State," August 29, 1974.

[should] raise no objection to the propose sale of [Boeing] 727, 737, and 747C."[53] The telegram also recommended that the State Department should reject "further inquiries by [U.S. defence company] Lockheed" to sell the L100-30 aircraft since "a joint State-DOD [Department of Defence] study has confirmed… the adaptability [of the aircraft] for military use."[54] Although in 1974 U.S. officials were still reticent about selling military aid to Iraq, by the following year they had begun viewing the Baathist regime as a more pragmatic actor that was interested in procuring military aid in order to resolve mainly internal challenges, rather than using it for expansionist purposes. According to U.S. State Department notes from 1975,

> Iraq has a strong interest in procuring American military technology and armaments. We know this from repeated reports from the British Military Attaché in Baghdad as well as from a number of private sector Iraqis who have clearly been authorised by [Iraq's Minister of Defence] to extend feelers…
>
> Iraq is already buying roughly as much Western military technology… as it is from [Socialist countries, excluding the Soviet Union], an amazing rapid turnabout. This is clearly part of Iraq's emerging posture of non-alignment and of the leadership's resolve to be dependent on no one source of supply. GOI'S military goals are internal security, border and mountain region surveillance and a credible defensive deterrent against Syria and Iran.[55]

Ultimately, Washington did not sell any weapons equipment directly to Iraq during the 1970s. Nevertheless, Baghdad's diplomatic outreach effort did over time change the perceptions that American diplomats had of the Baathist regime and ultimately bore fruit when Washington acquiesced to the building up of the Iraqi armed forces. For example, during the late 1970s, Iraq begun negotiating with the Italian government "to buy a turnkey navy" for $2.6 billion, which would include "four 2,500 ton Lupo-class frigates, six 650-ton Assad-class corvettes, an 8,700-ton supply ship, and a 6,000-ton floating deck."[56] As part of the deal, the Iraqi Ministry of

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[53] U.S. State Department Document 266, "Telegram from the Director of the Office of Lebanon, Jordan, Syrian Arab Republic, and Iraq Affairs (Korn) to the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs (Atherton)," December 9, 1974.
[54] U.S. State Department Document 266, 1974.
[55] U.S. State Department Document 295, "Telegram From the Interests Section in Baghdad to the Department of State," August 30, 1975.
[56] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 114.

Defence wanted the frigates to be equipped with American-made General Electric gas turbine engines. Although the U.S. Senate first blocked the sale (since Iraq was still on the U.S. government's list of terrorism-sponsoring states), the State Department overturned the ruling and allowed for the GE engines to be exported to Italy to be included in the final sale to Iraq. Despite the often-circuitous road that the Baathist leadership had to take to import Western military equipment, improving Iraq's image amongst policymakers in Washington helped in procuring equipment from the United States and its allies which could be used, directly or indirectly, for military purposes.

Baathist plans for mitigating Iraq's dependence on foreign military suppliers also centred on the development of an unconventional arms program, which required less-costly technologies, including chemical, radiological, biological, and bacteriological sources. In the period between 1976 and 1980, Iraq pursued a "Five Year Plan" aimed at developing an indigenous chemical weapons production capability.[57] In addition to creating government agencies directly responsible for procuring agents needed to produce unconventional weapons, such as the State Establishment for the Production of Pesticides, the Five-Year Plan also led to the opening of the Samarra Complex, which became the principal establishment for the manufacture of chemical weapons;[58] the construction of the Salman Pak facility, which was involved in the production of biological weapons;[59] and the Nassr State Establishment for Mechanical Industries (NASSR) which played an important role in the development of Iraq's ballistic weapons program.[60]

Importantly, buying the chemical or biological ingredients needed to produce unconventional weapons, required relatively cheaper investments than purchasing and

[57] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 129.
[58] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 129.
[59] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 129.
[60] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 64.

maintaining advanced aircraft or tanks. Furthermore, relative to the length of time that it sometimes took some weapons to actually reach Iraq and to train Iraqis to use them, the development of unconventional weapons took roughly the same amount of time. For example, Iraq ordered Mirage fighters from France in the late 1970s but only received them in 1982 and began to use them effectively several years after that; by comparison, Baghdad started its chemical weapons program in the late 1970s and used chemical weapons for the first time against Iranian troops in 1983.

Finally, a third strategy that Iraqi leaders used to mitigate dependence was stockpiling. To an extent, this is what the Iraqi government did in the period between March 1970, when Baghdad signed the agreement with the Kurdish factions that stopped the Kurdish insurgency, and March 1974, when the four-year agreement expired and the Iraqi armed forces launched another attack on Kurdish rebels. While stockpiling worked early in the campaign, the Baathist regime fundamentally miscalculated how much weaponry they would need to defeat the Iranian and American-backed Kurdish resistance. Iraq's unsuccessful stockpiling of arms was related by Hussein in an internal Iraqi government meeting in 1979, when he mentioned that during the 1974-1975 campaign the Iraqi military's munitions had run out, that Iraq had no heavy artillery shells, and that the "air force had only three bombs left."[61]

[61] SH-SHTP-A-000-553, "Revolutionary Command Council Meeting after the Baghdad Conference of 1979," March 27, 1979.

PART II: 1980 – 1990

1. Military Diversification

The Baath Party's military diversification program was accelerated as a result of realities of the Iran-Iraq War. When Iraq first invaded in September 1980, the Kremlin quickly imposed an arms embargo on Baghdad for its failure to consult Moscow. Baghdad was able to get Egypt to supply the Iraqi army with spare parts for Soviet equipment, while Jordan served as a vital route for supplying those weapons in the early part of the war. In addition, one of the most crucial military suppliers to Iraq during the war was France, which provided $5.6 billion in arms to Iraq in the first two years of the war alone.[62] As Iraq gradually became the world's leading weapons importer, new military suppliers became more willing to embark on closer security cooperation-type relationships with Baghdad, delivering capabilities to the Iraqi military which it did not have in decades prior. For example, beginning in 1982, British, French, German, Italian, Swiss, and Yugoslavian companies all worked on constructing different parts of Iraq's strategic shelter program designed to protect the IQAF's assets. By around 1986, Iraq had built 300 hardened aircraft shelters and 300 "dummy shelters" designed to fool enemy planes. To create this system, Iraqi military officials visited NATO air bases in Belgium and West Germany. As Timmerman notes, "The whole project, including the use of dummies, was based on NATO doctrine and built by NATO suppliers."[63] Although not on a par with that of the U.S. Air Force, as the 1990-1991 Gulf War illustrated,[64] by the late 1980s Iraq's air defence system was one of the strongest ones in the region. Its establishment through cooperation with foreign suppliers

[62] Karsh, *The Iran-Iraq War*, 41.
[63] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 166.
[64] For a description of how American airpower was used to defeat the Iraqi armed forces during the 1990-1991 Gulf War, see Richard Hallion, *Storm over Iraq: Air Power and the Gulf War* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.)

was the result of Iraq's military diversification policies. The Baath Party argued that Iraq's military diversification program

> has paid off remarkably well during the battle with the Iranian enemy… After we were forced to decisively and comprehensively confront the Iranian enemy, the Soviet Union has totally stopped all military supplies to Iraq [in the 1980-1982 period.] However, it has been possible to meet the needs of the battle [through the] policy of constantly maintaining a large reserve of military equipment, diversifying the armament sources, and adopting new [ways] in satisfying [Iraq's] military needs.[65]

As in the preceding decade, the Baath leadership believed it was key for a new state like Iraq to maintain a distance from the great powers in order to achieve true political independence. Baathist officials wanted "not only the absence of foreign troops, but also the freedom of choice, movement, and relations with big powers."[66] Diversification of military suppliers was one way of mitigating Iraq's dependence and increasing its freedom of movement. The chart below illustrates the impact of Baghdad's diversification program on the number of its total military suppliers over four periods between 1968 and 1990.

Diversification: Iraq's Military Suppliers

	1968-1975	1975-1980	1980-1985	1985-1990
Primary Suppliers	1	2	**3**	**3**
Secondary	0	2	7	**4**
Other	2	8	**12**	**9**
Total Suppliers	**3**	**12**	**22**	**16**

* Primary= Over $500 mil (in period); Secondary = $100 – 500 mil; Other = less than $100 mil.

Source: SIPRI, 1968-1990.

[65] *Baath Party Congress Report for 1982*. Although it is not made explicit, the last part of the quote ("adopting new ways of meeting Iraq's military needs") seems to hint at Iraq's conventional and unconventional weapons production programs.
[66] Tariq Aziz quoted in Helms, *Iraq*, 117.

2. Indigenous Production

In addition to military diversification, throughout the 1980s the Baath Party continued to invest in the development of an indigenous defence industry that would have a capability to build conventional and unconventional weapons. As the 1982 Baathist Congress report noted, the build-up of Iraq's military industry is "a necessary prerequisite for consolidating national independence and free national will… It is quite possible, even necessary, to provide as much as possible of [Iraq's military] needs through national industry."[67] Two key government organisations were in charge of developing Iraq's military industry: the Military Industrialisation Commission (MIC) and the State Organisation for Technical Industries (SOTI).[68] During the early 1980s, SOTI used existing Iraqi intelligence outposts in order to establish a covert network aimed at acquiring foreign military technologies in support of Iraq's military-industrial base. SOTI officials took charge of engineering project and licensed military production projects with France and supervised Saad General Establishments, which built factories for the production of conventional and unconventional weapons. Iraq worked on purchasing missile technology and other military equipment through the NASSR State Establishment for Mechanical Industries. In 1988, SOTI, the Ministry of Industry, the Ministry of Heavy Industry, and the Military Production Authority (all disparate Iraqi government agencies that worked on developing an indigenous military production capability) merged into one new organisation: the Ministry of Industry and Military Industrialisation (MIMI). Run by Hussein Kamil (Saddam Hussein's son-in-law), MIMI was charged with, amongst other functions, creating an independent nuclear program in Iraq.[69] Its power within Iraqi government decision-making was symbolised by the

[67] *Baath Party Congress Report for 1982*.
[68] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 123.
[69] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 119

fact that it was the only governmental office that could "finance projects independently of the Office of the President."[70] With the assistance of foreign engineers, MIMI developed a long-range multi-rocket launch system, adapted French in-flight refuelling equipment to fit it to Iraqi MiG-23s, and bought a license to manufacture T-72 tanks.[71]

The Iraqi government's investment in military projects placed a significant burden on its economy. Iraq's defence expenditures as a percentage of gross national product amounted to 25.4% in 1981, rose to 44.7% in 1982, and peaked in 1986 at 47.4%.[72] Meanwhile, arms imports accounted for anywhere between two-fifths and two-thirds of total Iraqi defence spending,[73] and for over four-fifths of all Iraqi imports in 1984.[74] Hoyt's and Alnasrawi's calculations are derive from the data provided by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA), an independent arms control agency within the U.S. government. ACDA data has not always been historically reliable. Catrina points out that the ACDA has often underestimated the arms exports of Western European and Third World countries.[75] Nevertheless, Iraqi government documents at the SHC lends credence to the belief of just how high a burden arms imports were during the Iran-Iraq War. For example, at a senior Iraqi government meeting in 1982, the Iraqi Minister of Finance noted that the Defence Ministry's planned expenditures for the year were 3,600 Iraqi Dinars (ID) million out of a total of 8,713 ID for the entire budget, thus accounting for approximately 41.3% of Iraq's budget for 1982.[76] (The next chapter will discuss the economic aspects of this in greater detail.)

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[70] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 124.
[71] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 370.
[72] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 130.
[73] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 130, and author's calculations.
[74] Figure calculated by Abbas Alnasrawi and provided in Bassam Yousif, H*uman Development in Iraq: 1950-1990* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 61.
[75] For a wider discussion of the reliability of ACDA data, see Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 363-377.
[76] SHTP-A-000-635, "Saddam meeting with his cabinet to discuss the 1982 budget," 1982.

Despite these costs, high state investment in Iraq's military industry gradually began to pay off. By the late 1980s, Iraq had at least 19 state-run military production facilities that were producing ordnance and artillery, with products that included variants of the RPI-7 anti-tank grenade launcher and anti-personnel and anti-tank mines. At a military exhibition in Cairo in 1987, Iraqi military officials showed indigenously produced aerial bombs, sniper rifles, Kalashnikovs, and other locally-produced light arms and munitions. In addition, Iraq's military industry modified major weapons platforms such as tanks, armoured vehicles, and aircraft to alter them to fit the Iraqi military's needs during the war.[77] According to Pelletiere, during the late 1980s Baathist officials in charge of Iraq's military industrialisation

> Made grandiose boasts, promising to make Iraq self-sufficient in arms within the decade. To buttress its claims, [it] put on an arms show just after the war, and a number of products – which the Iraqis claimed were natively produced – were displayed, some of which were quite impressive. For example, they showed off an Iraqi AWACS, actually a Soviet plane that they refitted. They also had on display modified MiG-23 fighters (equipped for in-flight refuelling) and naval mines.[78]

By the late 1980s, Iraq was reportedly self-sufficient in the production of ammunition, artillery, aircraft bombs, mortar bombs, RPGs, rockets, tube-launched rockets, mortars, shells, propellant, fuses, explosives, and replacement barrels, and was experimenting with uranium to create armour-piercing projectiles.[79] Through indigenous production, by 1988 Iraq was able to produce three *Al-Husyan* missiles per day (which had a range of 600km) as well as *Al-Abbas* missiles (which had a range of 800-900km.)[80] According to Pollack, although Iraqi-made (or modified) long-range missiles were "inelegant," they "got the job done and solved an important

[77] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 132-138.
[78] Stephen Pelletiere, Douglas Johnson, and Leif Rosenberger, *Iraqi Power and U.S. Security in the Middle East* (Carlisle Barracks, Pa: Strategic Studies Institute U.S. Army War College, 1990), 49.
[79] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 132-133.
[80] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 144-145.

military problem for Baghdad – its inability to strike Tehran and other distant Iranian cities on a sustained basis."[81]

Iraq's indigenous military production programs continued after the Iran-Iraq War ended in 1988. In May 1989, Hussein Kamil, Saddam Hussein's son-in-law who was put in charge of MIMI announced that Iraq was founding a defence industrial program that was intended to provide "all of Iraq's basic industrial supplies from indigenous sources."[82] Although such statements were often Baathist propaganda, archival evidence indicates that Iraq was in fact proceeding with its program of creating an indigenous military industry. For example, in June 1989 Iraq signed a protocol for the expansion of cooperation between Iraq and the USSR for the production of armoured vehicles in Iraq,[83] while in the following year the MIC was working on the production of new types of missiles.[84] The high-levels of debt that Iraq had at the end of the war (described in the next chapter) had limited impact on the Baathist military spending during the late 1980s.

3. Diplomacy, Less-Costly Weapons, and Stockpiling

The ability to access foreign military aid (i.e. both arms and technology transfers) was only made possible through an expanded diplomatic outreach program, which was directed by the senior levels of the Baathist government, specifically by Iraqi President Hussein himself, and supported by Iraq's security and intelligence apparatus.[85] During the 1980s, the majority of RCC members

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[81] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 234.
[82] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 132.
[83] SH-MICN-D-000-413, "Correspondence Issued by the MIC Legal Department to Special Projects Technical Committee Concerning Protocol-Approving Law," July 29, 1989.
[84] 42. SH-MICN-D-000-945, "Correspondence from the Military Industrialisation Commission regarding the production of the R400 bomb," January 1, 1990 to December 31, 1995.
[85] The role of Iraq's intelligence and security apparatus was crucial in the area of "covert technology acquisition." See Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 131.

were made up of civilian technocrats who did not have military experience. Not only did the Iraqi government's close-hold on the armed forces have a negative impact on the military operations in the early years of the war,[86] as will be discussed in further detail in chapter seven, but it also had a negative impact on the choice of weapons that the Iraqi government chose to import. Numerous files in the SHC show that at the start of the Iran-Iraq War Hussein (who had a very limited background in military affairs)[87] made decisions regarding the types of weapons that Iraq would import even though he did not understand the differences between weapon types.[88] Nevertheless, as Schofield writes, during the 1980s Hussein's "[military] strategy was not altogether effective because of his unfamiliarity with the use of military force [but his] *diplomatic strategy… helped sustain Iraq for eight years of war.*"[89] The key piece of Iraq's diplomatic outreach was the expansion of diplomatic relations with Washington.

Although the United States restored full diplomatic relations with Baghdad only in November 1984 (which were broken since October 1967),[90] Iraqi-American negotiations on military aid took place as early as 1981, when Baathist officials pressed Washington to stop its covert arms supplies to Iran.[91] In April 1981 Iraqi Foreign Minister Sadun Hammadi told a senior U.S. official that "while Iraq was not communist, it could hardly be surprising that the

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[86] Helms, *Iraq*, 169.
[87] Karsh and Rautsi point out that in his youth Hussein failed his entrance examination to the Baghdad Military Academy. See Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 35. Various Iraqi Generals have pointed out that during the 1980s Hussein did attend numerous military workshops and read some military journal articles in order to gain better familiarity, but this was hardly enough to make him an expert in military affairs. See Woods et al, *Saddam's Generals*.
[88] See for example SH-PDWN-D-000-566, "Meeting between Saddam Hussein and the General Command of the Armed Forces regarding the Iran-Iraq War," October-November, 1980.
[89] Schofield, *Militarization and War*, 140.
[90] William Quandt, "America and the Middle East," in Carl Brown (editor), *Diplomacy in the Middle East: the International Relations of Regional and Outside Powers* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2004), 69.
[91] At an April 12, 1981 meeting between U.S. and Iraqi officials in Baghdad, Iraq's Foreign Minister told the Americans that "selling arms to Iran [would be considered] an unfriendly move." GWU Document 6, "United States Interests Section in Iraq Cable from William L. Eagleton, Jr. to the Department of State. 'Meetings in Baghdad with Foreign Minister Hammadi,'" April 12, 1981.

Soviets continue to exploit the original opportunity they gained from the Czech arms deal with Egypt through an indifferent U.S. policy."[92] Implicit in Hammadi's message was that if Washington proved unwilling to provide military aid to the Iraqi war effort against Iran, Baghdad's geopolitical orientation would have to move closer to the Soviets.

Iraqi-American dialogue in the early 1980s paved the way for other openings in the diplomatic relationship. In a meeting with William Eagleton, the head of the U.S. Interests Section in May 1981, RCC member Tariq Aziz stated that Iraq "wished to increase its trade with the U.S." and that "Iraq… sought a wider understanding based on increased contact."[93] The message that Baathist officials sought to send was that Iraq was a country which Washington could do business with. In 1982, Iraq was removed from a U.S. State Department list of terrorism-sponsoring states. Although initially this did not entail Washington sending more military equipment to Iraq,[94] it paved the way for Baghdad to begin dual-use items from the United States. Furthermore, in meetings with American diplomats during this period, Iraqi officials stressed the importance of gaining more access to military imports. In May 1983 Aziz (who replaced Hammadi as Iraq's Foreign Minister in that year) told U.S. Secretary of State Alexander Haig that "there can be no negotiation with the Iranians unless they are convinced that they cannot crush Iraq militarily,"[95] implying that American military aid to Iraq could tip the

[92] GWU Document 6, "United States Interests Section in Iraq Cable from William L. Eagleton, Jr. to the Department of State. 'Meetings in Baghdad with Foreign Minister Hammadi,'" April 12, 1981.
[93] GWU NSA Document 10, "United States Interests Section in Iraq Cable from William L. Eagleton, Jr. to Department of State, Meeting with Tariq Aziz," May 28, 1981.
[94] Following the removal of Iraq from the list of terrorism sponsored states, U.S. Secretary of State Haig cautioned that this did not necessarily mean that Iraq was now eligible for U.S. military goods: "Iraq's de-designation [as a terrorism-sponsor state] will not affect these policies, and we will continue to review applications for the export of items subject to national security controls to Iraq to preclude the shipment of items which would significantly enhance its military capability." GWU Document 13, "Department of State Cable from Alexander M. Haig, Jr. to the United States Interests Section in Iraq, 'De-designation of Iraq as Supporter of International Terrorism,'" February 27, 1982.
[95] GWU Document 17, "Department of State, Office of the Secretary Delegation Cable from George P. Shultz to the Department of State, 'Secretary's May 10 Meeting with Iraqi Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz,'" May 11, 1983.

military balance in Iraq's favour, thereby bringing Iran to the negotiation table. A few months later, in December 1983, then-Presidential Envoy Donald Rumsfeld travelled to Baghdad to meet with Hussein. According to U.S. State Department meeting notes, Hussein told Rumsfeld that "Iraq was an independent and non-aligned country and it was incorrect and unbalanced to have relations with the Soviet Union and not with [the United States.] Iraq [has] no ideological complexes on this score."[96] Furthermore, during the mid-1980s, American officials began to receive requests from Iraqi officials for dual-use items, the approval and transfer of which would prove controversial over the long-run. For example, a June 1983 telegram from the U.S. Interests Section in Baghdad notes that:

> The Director of [Iraq's] Agricultural Aviation has invited U.S. crop spraying aircraft manufacturers [to Iraq]]… The director has expressed an interest in purchasing multi-purpose crop-spraying aircraft from U.S. sources. Six helicopters and six fixed-wing aircraft with one ton minimum load capacity are envisioned as the initial purchase.[97]

The request for such aircraft came from Iraq's Ministry of Agriculture, sections of which – such as the Iraqi State Ministry for Pesticide Production – served as fronts for programs that developed chemical and biological weapons.[98] The transfer of crop spraying aircraft may not seem like much but it made a significant impact in Iraqi war efforts during the mid- and late-1980s. Such aircraft were linked to Iraq's aerial use of chemical weapons against Iranian troops and Kurdish uprisings throughout that decade, which made a significant psychological impact on defeating threats from both.[99] Additionally, in January 1984 Washington began to consider

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[96] Rumsfeld Papers, "Rumsfeld Mission: December 20 Meeting with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein," December 1983.

[97] U.S. Interests Section Baghdad, "Helicopters and Airplanes for Iraqi Ministry of Agriculture and Agrarian Reform," June 1983. Documents available at the *George Washington University Archives: Iran-Iraq War.* (Accessed: June 13, 2013.)

[98] For examples, see Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*; Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*; Anthony Cordesman and Abraham Wagner, *The Lessons of Modern War, Vol. 2: The Iran-Iraq War* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press; London: Mansell, 1990), 507-518.

[99] For example, the armed forces used Swiss and German-built helicopters to drop chemical bombs on Iraq's minorities. In one incident, 300 Kurdish and Christian were killed in a chemical attack by Iraqi army aviation units

liberalizing export controls on Iraq: "We are considering revising present policy to permit virtually all sales of... dual-use equipment to Iraq."[100] In the next month, U.S. Secretary of State Shultz approved the export of 2,000 heavy trucks, worth $244 million, to Iraq, although the United States still remained cautious in exporting items that could be used directly for military purposes.[101]

Prior to 1983, Washington covertly permitted Israel to supply billions of dollars' worth of American weapons and spare parts to Iran through covert channels.[102] However, in 1983, as U.S.-Iranian relations deteriorated, the U.S. State Department placed Iran on its list of terrorist-sponsoring states (which would bar it from receiving overt military assistance) and launched "Operation Staunch," an international effort to place an arms embargo against Iran.[103] In November 1984, Baghdad and Washington re-established diplomatic relations. Overt the ensuing years Washington transferred to Baghdad over $4 billion in Commodity Credit Corporation guarantees and Export-Import Bank credits, which allowed the Baathist regime to devote more on military spending. In 1986, after Iraq suffered numerous defeats to Iran, the United States began to give Iraqi analysts access to American satellite reconnaissance and provided it with precise data on Iranian economic targets.[104] While Washington was openly pro-Iraq during the mid-1980s, in 1985 some U.S. officials – notably in the National Security

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as they were fleeing to Turkey on August 28, 1988. Eyewitness accounts of the helicopters used in the attack match the German-made BO-104 helicopters. See also Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 171-172.

[100] U.S. State Department, "Telegram from the Secretary of State's office to the US Interests Section in Baghdad: Follow-up Steps on Iraq-Iran," January 1984.

[101] GWU Document 39, "Department of State, Office of the Assistant Secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs Action Memorandum from David T. Schneider to George P. Shultz, 'Easing Restrictions on Exports to Iraq,'" January 30, 1984.

[102] According to McLaurin, Iran's F-4s were kept alive by Israeli-supplied parts during the Iran-Iraq war. See Ronald McLaurin, "Technology Acquisition: A Case Study of the Supply Side," in Kwang-Il Baek, Ronald De McLaurin, Chung-In Moon (editor), *The Dilemma of Third World Defence Industries: Supplier Control or Recipient Autonomy?* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990), 85.

[103] Resnick, "Strange Bedfellows," 162-163.

[104] Brands, "Making the Conspiracy Theorist a Prophet," 394.

Council and the CIA – initiated a covert program that sold Iran arms and shared intelligence information with Tehran, in exchange for Iran's support in releasing American hostages in Lebanon. In 1986, the program was exposed and subsequently terminated. Following the revelations of the Iran-Contra affair, Washington increased its support of Baghdad. Agricultural credits increased from $536 million in 1986 to $1 billion in 1988; the U.S. Commerce Department approved roughly 97.5% of export license applications for dual-use items bound for Iraq; and the CIA also shared with Iraq intelligence pertaining to strategic targets in Iran.[105]

Baathist officials also attempted to impact, to the extent they could, the perceptions of the American public. In 1983, for example, Hussein met with Christine Moss Helms, an American researcher, for an extensive interview which allowed the Iraqi President to present autobiographical details on his life, resulting in a positive portrait of a leader that would be seen as a dictator only a few years later.[106] In 1984, Moss authored a book entitled, *Iraq: Eastern Flank of the Arab World*, which was published by the Brookings Institution and presented one of the most sympathetic accounts of the Baathist regime in the Western press.[107] After Washington and Baghdad re-established diplomatic relations in 1984, the newly-appointed Iraqi Ambassador to the United States, Nizar Hamdun (previously head of the Iraqi Interests Section in Washington) embarked on an extensive media and public outreach campaign.[108] In 1985, the Iraqi ambassador wrote a letter to the editor of the *New York Times* in which he highlighted Iran's efforts to "destabilise the Gulf" and argued that "stability in the area has rested for several years

[105] For more on American multi-layered support of both Iraq and Iran during this time period, see Brands, "Making the Conspiracy Theorist a Prophet," 393-401.
[106] Christine Moss Helms and Saddam Hussein, *President Hussein Interviewed by American Researcher* (Dar al-Mamun: Baghdad, 1983.)
[107] See Christine Helms, *Iraq: Eastern Flank of the Arab World* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1984.)
[108] For example, see Barbara Gamarekian, "Diplomatic Inch, Diplomatic Mile," *New York Times* (06 Feb 1985), A20.

on Iraq's firm stand in the face of Iranian expansionist attitudes."[109] The underlying message of Hamdun's letters to American news outlets was two-fold: (1) Iran was the primary threat to stability in the Gulf and wider Middle East, and (2) Iraq was the only country in the region that could counter it.[110] In 1987, a profile of Hamdun in the *New York Times* highlighted that as part of his diplomatic effort, "the Ambassador has made himself available to a wider range of Administration officials, academics, and business leaders, consistently portraying Iraq as a peace-loving country that... wants to bring the [Iran-Iraq] war [to an] end."[111] The profile provided a quote by Hamdun which perhaps best encapsulated the Iraqi government's perspective on dealing with the United States, the centrepiece of which was making sure that Baghdad's voice was representing in decision-making circles in Washington:

> I represent Iraq to the United States of America and not to the diplomatic corps or the Arab community here. The terms 'good guys' and 'bad guys' apply in the United States, and if you're perceived as a good guy, the American people may disagree with you, but at least they will respect you.[112]

Baathist leaders also built relations with U.S. businesses, including American defence companies. In meetings during the early 1980s, Iraqi officials consistently expressed their desire to expand trade relations with the United States.[113] In May 1985, the Baathist regime set up the Iraq-U.S. Business Forum in Washington, DC.[114] Run by an American intermediary, this lobbying outfit became increasingly influential by the late 1980s. Its membership list included

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[109] Nizar Hamdun, "Iraq Under Saddam Hussein (Letter to the Editor)," *New York Times* (March 10, 1985.)
[110] For example, one piece published in the Washington Post in 1987 describing diplomatic life in DC. See Nizar Hamdun, "Ambassador's Diary: How to Survive in Washington," *Washington Post* (August 30, 1987), C1. Another opinion editorial included an explanation of the Iraqi perspective on why Iran only understands force: Nizar Hamdun, "Why My Iraq Must Fight Iran," *Washington Post* (May 29, 1988), 53. Letters sent by Hamdun to the editor of the *New York Times*, meanwhile, include "Iraqi Armed Forces Have Thrown Back Huge Iranian Offensives," (March 15, 1986); "Iraq Did Not Enter Willingly Into the Long Gulf War With Iran," *New York Times* (September 13, 1986), 26; and "Iraq's President Is Not a Bargaining Chip," *New York Times* (February 21, 1987), 26.
[111] Elaine Sciolino, "On the Road With Iraqi Ambassador," *New York Times* (July 13, 1987), A14.
[112] Sciolino, "On the Road With Iraqi Ambassador," 1987.
[113] For examples, see GWU NSA Documents 7 and 10, 1981.
[114] This topic is discussed in greater detail in chapter three.

powerful American military, oil, and heavy-industry businesses.[115] Although it would be incorrect to argue that Iraq was able to establish a "death lobby" in Washington (as Timmerman writes), collectively through efforts to reach out to American officials, business, and the U.S. public, Iraq established a powerful base of support in Washington which lobbied on behalf of Iraqi interests during the 1980s. According to Eagleton's notes of a 1981 meeting with Aziz, "Iraqis [are] aware that Western Europe and the United States were more technologically-advanced and affluent [than Socialist countries.] Since Iraq is paying the price [for military and civilian goods], they want the best product. Thus, there is an objective ground for close relations with the U.S. and Europe."[116] Washington's support of Iraq also served as an informal green-light for European military suppliers, such as Austria, Canada, France, Germany, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom, and various Arab states (most notably Egypt) to increase their military assistance to Iraq.[117] Consequently, as the chart below shows, the share of Soviet military imports dropped from 77% in 1980 to as low as 45% in 1983 and stood at 57% by the end of the Iran-Iraq War.

Soviet Military Aid as a Proportion of Iraqi Military Imports

Year	1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
% Total	77%	56%	52%	45%	54%	55%	66%	64%	57%

Source: SIPRI, 1980-1990.

Part of Iraq's diplomatic outreach program involved sharing intelligence with its suppliers about military equipment. Although the Iraqi government directed military officials to

[115] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 535-536.
[116] GWU NSA Document 10, 1981.
[117] See Styan, *France and Iraq*, 129-170; De Andreis, *Italian Arms Export to Iraq and Iraq*; Cowley, *Guns, Lies, and Spies*; Leigh, *Betrayed*; Francona, *Ally to Adversary*; Miller, *Export or Die* (London: Cassell, 1996); Phythian, *Arming Iraq*. See also SH-GMID-D-000-265, "General Military Intelligence Directorate study on the Iran-Iraq War, including causes, effects on the economy, and general security and relations in the Gulf region," May 12, 1987.

avoid providing information about the performance of Iraqi weapons,[118] Baghdad was willing to share captured enemy weapons with its suppliers. For example, in 1983, Iraq agreed to a request from the chief of the Soviet armed forces to provide Moscow with samples of the American-made Phoenix, Sparrow, and Sidewinder missiles,[119] and captured Iranian artillery "for the purpose of delivering it to the concerned parties in Russia to study it."[120] According to the Iraqi intelligence notes, Baghdad agreed to deliver these American-made weapons after the Soviets reassured them that they "will provide us with the study results so we can benefit from [the knowledge in the war.]"[121] Iraq benefited from Soviet studies on American-made weapons because the Iraqi armed forces had to counter them on the battlefield during the 1980s. For example, throughout the war the Iranian military used American-made TOW anti-tank missiles (which were purchased both under the Shah and, covertly, from the United States during the 1980s) to halt attacks by Iraqi tanks.[122] Archival evidence suggests that in 1981 the Soviet Union provided information to Iraq's military intelligence on the development of second generation TOW missiles that were being used by Iran in the field.[123]

Sharing their enemies' military technologies with military suppliers was also part of Iraq's attempt to receive foreign assistance in other fields as well. For example, according to former Major General al-Tarfa al-Ubaydi, who served in the Iran section of the general

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[118] A few years into the war, Hussein told senior political and military officials that "we [should] be careful not to give anyone feedback on how [Iraqi] weapons perform during war… Since the arms we are using [in the Iran-Iraq War] can be used against us and the suppliers can raise the prices of the better weapons, it would be disadvantageous for us to tell anybody how [Iraqi] arms performed." SH-SHTP-A-000-627, 1983- 1984.

[119] These air-to-air missiles were used extensively by the Iranian air force to shoot down Iraqi aircraft during the war. See Farzad Bishop and Tom Cooper, *Iranian F-4 Phantom II Units in Combat* (Osprey Publishing, 20 Nov 2012.)

[120] SH-GMID-D-000-550, "Memoranda from the General Military Intelligence Directorate regarding the Soviet military attaché to Baghdad and information on plans for Iraq to provide Russia with missiles," 1982-1987.

[121] SH-GMID-D-000-550, 1982-1987.

[122] Cordesman and Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, 442-443.

[123] SH-GMID-D-001-084, "Correspondence between the General Military Intelligence Directorate and the Iraqi military attaché in Moscow regarding a report studies and tests done on the TOW missile," 1981.

command intelligence cell between 1980 and 1987, during the war "the Soviets helped [the Iraqi military] by providing code-breaking experts in return for an Iranian F-4 aircraft that had crash-landed [in Iraq] and was only slightly damaged."[124] Washington supposedly tried to work out similar deals with Baghdad: for example, American negotiators wanted to obtain a Soviet tank that was "protected by advanced armour potentially invulnerable to American firepower" and offered in exchange to deliver American-made howitzers to Iraq.[125] During the war itself Baghdad was generally unwilling to give Washington information about Soviet military equipment,[126] although an American "foreign liaison officer delegation" was allowed to visit Iraq after the Iran-Iraq War to inspect the weapons that were used during the war.[127]

Another counter-dependence strategy which the Baathist government pursued was the development of less-costly (or unconventional) weapons. In 1980 Iraq created the State Establishment for Pesticide Production (SEPP), a front for the production of chemical weapons which also acted as the contracting agency for the Samarra Chemical Weapons facility. According to Pelletiere and Johnson, who examined the military operations of the Iran-Iraq War, the Iraqi military was "motivated to find a solution to the impact of Iranian human wave infantry attacks."[128] As they point out, while chemical weapons have "a low kill ratio," they also have a "great psychological potential."[129] In the case of the Iran-Iraq War, the use of chemical weapons lowered the morale of Iranian troops, who now faced the prospect not just of dying on the

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[124] Interview with former Major General al-Ubaydi in *Saddam's Generals*, 108.
[125] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 46.
[126] This was caused not so much by Baghdad's loyalty to Moscow, but by the fact that the Baath Party was afraid that sharing information about Soviet military equipment, which still formed the majority of Iraq's conventional military arsenal, would find its way to Tehran, thereby compromising its military situation. See SH-SHTP-A-000-627, 1983-1984.
[127] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 85.
[128] Pelletiere and Johnson, *Lessons Learned*, 99.
[129] Pelletiere and Johnson, *Lessons Learned*, 102.

battlefield, but suffering a slow and painful death.[130] Over the 1980s, the Baathist regime became used chemical weapons on the Kurdish resistance and Iranian troops to deliver an impact that forced the latter to stop its assault on the Iraqi government.[131]

During the mid-1980s, Baghdad also spent billions of dollars on contracts with Yugoslavian and West German firms to develop ballistic missiles and chemical, biological, and nuclear warheads.[132] The development of Iraq's ballistic missile program had its roots in the 1970s, but was expanded significantly during the 1980s with support from countries as diverse as Argentina, Brazil, Egypt, the Soviet Union, and West Germany.[133] Through Iraq's various indigenous ballistic programs program, Iraq was able to develop SCUD missiles that had a range capable of hitting Tehran.[134] In the final year of the war, Iraq fired almost twice as many SCUD missiles into Iran as the latter did into Iraq.[135] The development of ballistic missiles allowed Iraq to offset the need for the IQAF to fly over vast territories in Iran and instead land missiles directly at the Iranian capital city, directly impacting the centre of the enemy's political-military decision-making.[136] Furthermore, because some of the missiles were primarily locally produced, the Baathist regime also had greater control over their supply than it did over the delivery of foreign manufactured weapons systems.

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[130] Iraq used chemical weapons for the first time against Iranian troops as early as 1983. See Al-Salama and Marashi, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 160.
[131] For more on Iraqi chemical and biological weapons programs and their use during the Iran-Iraq War, see Cordesman and Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, 506-512 and 513-518.
[132] Khidhir Hamza, *Saddam's Bombmaker: the Daring Escape of the Man who Built Iraq's Secret Weapon* (London: Simon & Schuster, 2002), 191 – 197.
[133] Iraq received its first SCUD short-range missiles from the Soviet Union in 1973. Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 144.
[134] The missile capable of hitting Tehran was called *Al-Husayn*, was mostly produced locally, and had a range of about 600 km. See Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 145.
[135] Cordesman and Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, 525.
[136] The psychological impact of the SCUD was compounded by the Iranian fear that the Iraqi regime was firing chemical-armed ballistic missiles, which caused several million people to leave Tehran. For more on the use of Iraqi surface-to-surface weapons, most notably its SCUD missiles, see Cordesman and Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, 495-506.

Iraq was also much more successful in the field of stockpiling military equipment during the 1980s than it was in the previous decade. The 1982 Baath Party report claimed that "it has been possible to meet the needs of the battle… thanks to the [Iraqi government's] policy of constantly maintain a large reserve of military equipment."[137] This was not simple propaganda. As Cordesman and Wagner note, "unlike Iran, Iraq's land forces… had massive modern support and training facilities [and were] able to set up vast supply dumps in virtually every part of the front."[138] Even though the shortage of some war materiel (in particular ammunition and artillery) was a consistent theme amongst discussions of Iraqi political and military officials during the 1980s,[139] such shortages were more the result of an unprecedented expansion of the Iraqi armed forces (i.e. demand outstripped supply), not poor planning by Iraqi logisticians. In fact, during the late 1970s, Iraq created an enormous stockpile of "ammunition, spare parts, and other military consumables" which meant that when the Soviet Union imposed an embargo on Iraq at the start of the Iran-Iraq war, it had little impact on troops on the front lines.[140] Furthermore, according to Pollack, after the Arab-Israeli 1973 War Iraq built a hybrid Soviet-British logistics system which during the Iran-Iraq War proved efficient in maintaining the "movement of troops, weaponry and supplies… Iraq's logistical system kept nine divisions plus support troops (a force of over 150,000 men) well-supplied for over a year in Iran without any glaring mistakes – a considerable achievement by any measure."[141] In addition to its diplomatic outreach effort and investment in less-costly weapons, the Iraqi military's ability to stockpile weapons more efficiently also mitigated the country's dependence.

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[137] *Baath Party Report*, 1982.
[138] Cordesman and Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, 169.
[139] For example, see SH-SHTP-A-001-229, "Saddam and Military Officials Discussing the Iran-Iraq War and Iraqi Military Capabilities," 1980; SH-SHTP-A-000-627, 1983-1984; SH-SHTP-D-000-572, 1981.
[140] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 192.
[141] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 192.

INTERPRETATION OF EVIDENCE, 1968-1990

Military Diversification

Although Baghdad's policy of military diversification allowed the Baathist regime to insulate Iraqi foreign and domestic policy from Soviet influence and to obtain better quality weapons, on the downside it also prevented Iraq from developing close security cooperation relationships with its military suppliers. In April 1978 the Baath Party publicly celebrated the sixth anniversary of the 1972 Iraqi-Soviet treaty and stated that "the Soviet Union has stood and always stands on the side of the Arab national liberation movement."[142] In private, however, Iraqi political-military officials were in fact concerned that the Soviet Union had begun giving military equipment to Baghdad's enemies, particularly the Shah of Iran. In January 1978, the General Staff of the Iraqi Military sent a telegram to the Iraqi Military Attaché "to confirm the accuracy" of information about Iran receiving "weapons, ammunition and military equipment through a swap for gas deal with the Soviet Union."[143]

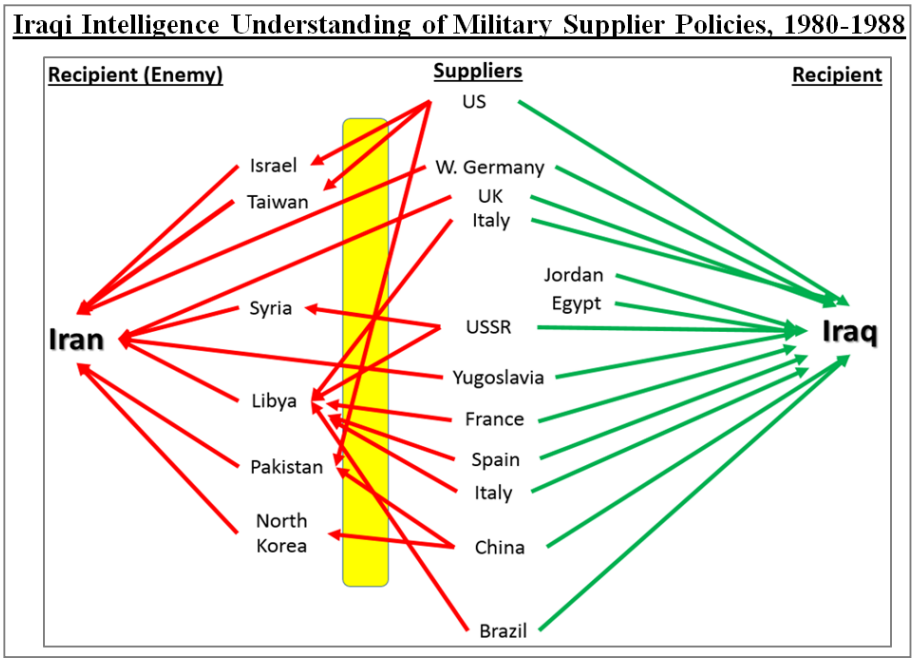
Iraqi concerns about Moscow transferring military equipment to Iran were well-founded. In the period between 1977 and 1978, at the height of Iraqi military diversification programs in that decade, the Soviet Union transferred $1.5 billion in air defence systems and missiles to Iran.[144] In the period between 1972, when Baghdad first signed the Iraqi-Soviet cooperation treaty, and 1976, when Iraq's military diversification programs were just starting, according to SIPRI there are no Iranian-Soviet arms transfers.[145] To an extent Baghdad's military

[142] FBIS-MEA-78-077, "Paper Hails Sixth Anniversary of Treaty with Soviets," *Tariq Ash-Sha'b, Baghdad* (April 20, 1978.)
[143] SH-GMID-D-000-845, "General Military Intelligence Directorate correspondence regarding weapons, ammunition, and military equipment from the Soviet Union and correspondence with the Iraqi military attaché in Tehran," January 1978 to September 1979.
[144] SIPRI, *Iranian-Soviet Military Transfers*, 1977-1978.
[145] SIPRI, *Iranian-Soviet Military Transfers*, 1972-1976.

diversification (particularly reaching out to Western countries) pushed the Kremlin to play the same game. Similarly, Iraq's non-Soviet military partners were also supporting Baghdad's enemies during the 1970s; for example, while Paris was willing to sell nuclear technologies to Baghdad, it also signed nuclear cooperation contracts with Tehran in the same period.[146]

During the 1980s Iraq's military suppliers continued to provide aid to Iran. The chart below is composed of over a dozen Iraqi intelligence reports from the 1980s. The suppliers in the middle of the chart are those that gave arms to both Iran and Iraq during the war. In essence, according to Iraqi intelligence, nearly every single military supplier that Baghdad had during the 1980s was simultaneously providing military aid to Iran, albeit through intermediaries. American-made weapons made their way to Iran through countries as diverse as Israel, Taiwan, and Pakistan. Chinese weapons were passed through North Korea and Pakistan. Libya and Syria (which sided with Iran during the war) were together conduits for weapon transfers from Brazil, France, and the USSR, all of whom had important security cooperation agreements with and were providing military aid to Iraq during the same period.

[146] For example, FBIS-MEA-76-106, "Le Monde Interview with Iranian Prime Minister Amir-Abas Hoveyda," *Le Monde* (June 1, 1976.)



Source: SHC, 1980-1988.[147]

Throughout the 1980s, China was the third largest provider of arms to Iraq after the USSR and France.[148] As the chart above shows, Iraq's intelligence service confirmed that China – like the United States and the Soviet Union – was providing military aid to Iran through intermediaries. This information was gathered through various channels, including Iraq's diplomatic outposts. For example, in 1985, the Yugoslavian Directorate of Military Intelligence supplied Iraq's Military Attaché in Belgrade with information confirming that China was delivering to Iran roughly a hundred surface-to-surface missiles "with a range of two hundred

[147] Various Iraqi intelligence reports, including: SH-GMID-D-000-524, "Correspondence between the General Military Intelligence Directorate and the Iraqi Intelligence Service regarding Iranian-Libyan military cooperation" November 1981 to November 1985; SH-GMID-D-000-154, "Telegrams sent from the Iraqi military attaché in Delhi to the GMID regarding chemical and germ warfare equipment and previous mustard gas shipments from North Korea to Iran in 1984," April 4, 1984; SH-MISC-D-000-449, "Report regarding the Iranian military presence along the Iraq-Iran border, Iranian current affairs, reports on weapons sales, and analysis," October 29, 1986; SH-GMID-D-000-265, "General Military Intelligence Directorate study on the Iran-Iraq War, including causes, effects on the economy, and general security and relations in the Gulf region," May 12, 1987; SH-GMID-D-001-145, "Document regarding investigation reports regarding the relationship between Iran and Pakistan, including armament support from Pakistan to Iran, and food supplies," December 1987. Note: The United States provided indirect military aid to Iraq as discussed in this chapter.

[148] SIPRI, *Iraq's Arms Imports*, 1980-1988.

kilometres."[149] In 1986, Iraq's General Directorate of Military Intelligence learned through its Military Attaché in London about the "arrival... of the improved type of S-S-12 surface-to-surface missiles that are made in China and loaded on food transporting trucks to the Iranian enemy. The trucks take the land route of Nepal-Pakistan-Iran."[150] Although the Iraqi government tried to stop its suppliers from providing military aid to Iran,[151] such efforts were only moderately successful in part because Baghdad failed to develop more exclusive relationship with its suppliers.

One example of a state in the region which placed a premium on maintaining a loyal security cooperation relationship was Israel vis-à-vis the United States. In the period between 1975 and 2010, roughly 93% of all Israeli military imports came from the United States.[152] At no point during this time period did Israel actively pursue a military diversification program like Iraq: the six military suppliers that Israel had besides the United States at this time period (which together accounted for only six percent of all Israeli military imports) were all American allies.[153] To an extent, Tel Aviv's close security cooperation relationship with Washington meant that it was potentially vulnerable to American influence. At the same time, however, Israel benefited from a more exclusive relationship because it knew that the United States would not give arms to countries that were seeking to destroy it.[154] While military diversification

[149] That is, with enough range to hit Baghdad. See SH-GMID-D-000-295, "Correspondence between Iraqi Air Forces, Anti-Aircraft Defense Command and the General Military Intelligence Directory regarding the bombardment of Army and oil locations and establishments by Iranian surface-to-surface missiles," April 1985 to October 1986.
[150] SH-GMID-D-000-295, 1985-1986.
[151] For example, see GWU NSA Document 7 and 10, 1981.
[152] SIPRI, *Israeli military imports*, 1975-2010.
[153] SIPRI, *Israeli military imports*, 1975-2010.
[154] A full discussion of Israeli-U.S. security cooperation is outside the scope of this dissertation. For more details on the subject, see Jeremy Sharp, "U.S. Foreign Aid to Israel," *Congressional Research Service* (December 4, 2009).

allowed Iraq to minimise supplier influence it may have also resulted in the fact that suppliers were more willing to support its enemies.

Indigenous Production

During both the 1970s and 1980s the Baathist leadership was adamant about pursuing an indigenous military production program. The Baathist leadership's long-term strategy for developing an indigenous military production facility began in earnest in 1974 with the setting-up of the Strategic Planning Committee described above. Although Baghdad's unconventional weapons program was often shrouded in mystery, Baathist officials did not keep its ambitions for developing an indigenous Iraqi military industry a secret. At a 1979 UN Conference on Science and Technology in Vienna, Iraqi representatives stated that an objective for the year 2000 was "the development of the armament industry in order to achieve self-reliance and national security for both Iraq and the Arab world."[155] By the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s Baghdad's strategy shifted from importing whole weapons-systems to "technology transfers." For example, the SHC contains a military cooperation agreement signed in April 1983 between Baghdad and Moscow for the construction of an intermediate repair project for the R-13-M rockets to be built in Iraq with the help of Soviet advisors.[156] Another similar agreement signed with Moscow focused on the "development of an airplane repair project in Iraq."[157] These agreements highlighted Iraq's commitment to develop an indigenous military industry, the reasons for which were described in a 1982 Baath Party Report in the following terms:

> The building-up of [a] military industry… is a necessary prerequisite for consolidating national independence and free national will. If it is not possible to manufacture all that our armed forces

[155] Iraqi delegates quoted in Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 126.
[156] SH-PDWN-D-000-552, 1981-1989.
[157] SH-PDWN-D-000-552, 1981-1989.

> need, it is quite possible, even necessary, to provide as much as possible of such needs through national industry.[158]

The creation of an indigenous military industry proved to be a formidable task. For most of the period up until the Baathist takeover in 1968, the majority of Iraq's labour force was involved in agricultural projects. Even during the early 1970s, 30-40% of Iraq's labour force still worked in the agricultural sector.[159] That began to change during the mid-1970s as oil revenues enabled the Iraqi government to spend more on state-funded enterprises. By the late 1970s, nearly one-half of the active labour force was employed by the Iraqi state.[160] Significant portions of Iraqi government spending during the 1970s and 1980s were devoted to large-scale industrialisation projects.[161] By 1984, Iraq had an estimated 170,000 industrial workers, an enormous expansion of Iraq's industrial workforce over a relatively short period of time; furthermore, during the mid-1980s, roughly 40 percent of those working on industrial projects worked specifically on Iraq's military industry.[162] By 1990, the number of Iraqis working on developing the country's military industry reached approximately 100,000.[163]

The extent to which Iraq succeeded in building an indigenous military industry during the 1970s and 1980s is a subject of some disagreement. For example, Timmerman and Jentlesons's accounts highlight the successes of Baghdad's military industrialisation program; reading their works, the impression one gets is that generally the Iraqi defence production was very robust.[164]

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[158] Iraqi Government, "Baath Party Conference Report," 1982.
[159] Most of Iraq's GDP during that period came from oil revenues, but the oil industry employed only a small portion of the Iraqi labour force. See Helms, *Iraq*, 12.
[160] Colgan, *Petro-Aggression*, 103.
[161] The fastest growing sector in which private and public investments were made was in Iraq's industry, which by the late 1970s accounted for an estimated half of all investments in Iraq. Between the early 1970s and early 1980s, the number of employees working in large industrial establishments doubled and the value of the output of such establishments rose from 235 Mil ID in 1972 to 1,520 Mil ID in 1982. See Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 232-236.
[162] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy,* 123.
[163] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy,* 123.
[164] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*; Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*.

On the other hand Pollack argues that "the Iraqi arms industry was never able to supply the armed forces with much more than ammunition and some small arms… The vast majority of the weapons Iraq claimed to have developed were [often] foreign weapons systems that Iraq had poorly disguised and renamed."[165] The truth seems to be somewhere in the middle: while Iraq's military industry never reached Western-levels, the advances made by Iraq over the following two decades were truly impressive, especially for an under-industrialised country with a labour force that was still largely agricultural at the start of the 1980s. For example, analysing the growth of Iraq's military industry during the 1980s, Hoyt writes that, "in just a decade, Iraq had created a significant and, in some fields, technologically-sophisticated military industrial-base."[166] By the late 1980s, Iraq possessed one of the most robust military industries in the Arab world.[167]

Diplomacy, Less-Costly Weapons, and Stockpiling

The Baathist regime also undertook three policies aimed at decreasing its dependence on weapons from abroad. The first and most effective policy was Baghdad's flexible and active diplomacy with countries from different ideological blocs (i.e. the Western powers, the Socialist bloc states, members of the Non-Aligned Movement). This policy was reflected in the aforementioned 1982 Baath Party report, which emphasised "the need to diversify Iraq's foreign relations [in order to] provide better chances for meeting [Iraq's] needs at both local and Arab

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[165] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 234-235.
[166] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy,* 124.
[167] Among Arab states, the only country that came close to Iraq's military industry was Egypt. However, with a population roughly one third the size of Egypt, Iraq's military industrialisation relative to the size of its labour force was more impressive. In the Gulf, the only rival was Iran (about three-to-four times the size of Iraq), although the lack of access to foreign military technologies seriously hampered Iran's indigenous military industry during the 1980s. See Yazid Sayigh, *Arab Military Industry: Capability, Performance, and Impact* (London; Washington: Brassey's, 1992.)

levels."[168] Baathist leaders varied the content of their rhetoric with each diplomatic partner. With the Soviet Union Baathist officials argued that Baghdad was a partner in the "struggle against imperialist forces" and highlighted that Iran was acting on behalf of "imperialist agents." With France they stressed that Iraq was an unaligned country and highlighted the commercial elements of Iraqi-French security cooperation. With the United States Baathist officials cultivated their relationships with Western journalists, politicians, military officials, and business leaders. While this diversification strategy worked to some extent (i.e. it convinced those suppliers Iraq was a country that one could do business with), as described above diversification also precluded Iraq from achieving an exclusive relationship with any of its suppliers. Not surprisingly, during the late 1980s, Barzan al-Takriti, Iraq's then Ambassador to Geneva, wrote to Iraqi President Hussein that while "other nations [have] true allies fighting on their side in all fields… we have opportunist allies who crave after us and some of them sell us short... when the going gets tough."[169]

Secondly, Iraq's investment in developing less-costly (or unconventional) weapons also had both costs and benefits. The "benefit" of these weapons was that they struck psychological fear in the various enemies that Baghdad faced: the development and use of *Al-Husayn*, *Al-Abas*, and other long-range ballistic missiles which could hit Tehran caused wide-spread paranoia in the capital and other cities in Iran, delivering a psychological impact comparable to Iraq had used aircraft to assault Tehran and at a lower price.[170] On the cost-side, the use of unconventional weapons damaged the Baathist regime's reputation in the international system: no matter how many letters-to-the editor Iraq's Ambassador Hamdun wrote highlighting the "peaceful" nature

[168] *Baath Party Congress Report for 1982*.
[169] SH-PDWN-D-000-469, "Response letter from Barzan al-Tikriti to Saddam Hussein regarding assessment, comments, and suggestions on various issues in Iraq," September 1989 to October 1989.
[170] Cordesman and Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, 500.

of the Baathist regime, Baghdad's use of chemical weapons, especially against civilians, was covered in the Western press.[171] Furthermore, while the Executive branch of the U.S. government continued to authorise providing Iraq with further financial aid even after the Halabja massacre in March 1988,[172] the U.S. Congress had formed a committee in August 1988 to investigate Baghdad's use of chemical weapons.[173] At the same time a United Nations panel confirmed that Iraq had in fact used chemical against the Kurds.[174] In September 1988, both the U.S. House and Senate passed legislation imposing economic sanctions on Iraq and a ban of selling dual-use equipment to Baghdad as a result of its use of chemical weapons.[175] On April 3, 1990, U.S. President George Bush, who had been largely supportive of the Baathist regime up until that point, issued a statement "strongly urge[d] Iraq to abandon the use of chemical weapons."[176] A few days later, on April 11, 1990, British Customs officials seized Iraq-bound cargo that contained crates for building Iraq's "Super-Gun." On April 16, a delegation of U.S. Senators in Iraq delivered a letter to Hussein which expressed "deep concerns" about recent Iraqi policies and urged it to stop its "attempts to develop nuclear, chemical, and biological capabilities."[177] Over the long-run, the Baathist regime's propensity to break international norms put pressure on Western policymakers to curb Iraq's access to military equipment and dual-use items, thereby slowing down its military expansion.

A third policy that the Baathist leadership undertook to mitigate its dependence was stockpiling. During the 1970s, Iraq was largely unsuccessful in this realm. During the 1974-

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[171] For example, see Alan Cowell, "Iran Charges Iraq with Gas Attack," *New York Times* (March 24, 1988), A11; "Poison Gas: Iraq's Crime," *New York Times* (March 26, 1988), 30.
[172] See Friedman, *Spider's Web*, 107-164.
[173] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 220.
[174] "U.N. Panel Says Iraq Used Gas on Civilians," *New York Times* (August 24, 1988), A11.
[175] Robert Pear, "House Approves Sanctions Against Iraq," *New York Times* (September 28, 1988), A8.
[176] FBIS-NES-90-072, "Saddam Reacts to Bush's 3 Apr Statements," *Baghdad INA* (April 1, 1990.)
[177] FBIS-NES-90-074, "Saddam Husayn Addresses Visiting U.S. Senators," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (April 16, 1990.)

1975 campaign against Kurdish rebels Iraq had out of much of the ammunition and weapons that it had needed to sustain the fight. It was only through a diplomatic manoeuvre (i.e. the Algiers Agreement brokered by Hussein and the Shah of Iran), that the flow of weapons to the Kurdish rebels ceased and the Iraqi government was finally able to defeat the insurgency. By the late 1970s, however, Iraq had begun to stockpile weapons and spare parts, which allowed the Iraqi forces to remain well-supplied during the eight months of the Soviet arms embargo at the start of the Iran-Iraq War. Furthermore, according to Pollack (who is generally critical of the Iraqi military effectiveness), prior to and during the Iran-Iraq War "the logisticians... accomplished every task required of them… Supply and transport units kept the combat units well supplied throughout the invasion [and for over a year inside Iran.]"[178]

CONCLUSIONS

During the 1970s and 1980s, the Baathist regime undertook two major policies aimed at mitigating Iraq's dependence on foreign military suppliers: military diversification and indigenous production. Though both policies took time and had some costs, for the most part they enabled the regime to build Iraq's military power while maintaining the political independence that the Baathist government believed was necessary for Iraq to become a major world power. In addition, through diplomatic outreach, the Baathist regime was able to change the perceptions of its suppliers so that they were more amenable to provide Iraq with economic and military aid. Iraq's investment in less-costly weapons, meanwhile, provided the Iraqi military with considerable power, but the use of unconventional weapons against innocent

[178] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 192.

civilians gradually transformed the international community's perceptions against the Baathist regime, which worked against Iraqi interests in the long run. Finally, the Baathist regime was unable to use stockpiling in an effective manner during the mid-1970s, but its ability to stockpile weapons improved considerably during the Iran-Iraq War. On the downside, these counter-dependence strategies may have cost Iraq in another way, by preventing the development of a more exclusive security cooperation relationship, which resulted in Baghdad's military suppliers being willing to provide weapons to its enemy during the Iran-Iraq War.

CHAPTER SIX: THE ECONOMIC ELEMENTS OF IRAQI ARMS IMPORTS

The economic dimensions of Iraqi military imports between 1968 and 1990 do not seem to follow conventional thinking on recipient behaviour in three key areas. Firstly, although Iraq was the second largest importer in the world during this period, spending on arms imports and the military in general did not seem to contribute negatively to Iraq's socio-economic development. Generally, Iraq experienced a relatively high period of growth over the entire time period, improvements in its living standards, and an increasingly robust and educated labour force. Secondly, in relations with numerous suppliers, Iraq was successful in encouraging supplier-export dependence. This was particularly the case with medium-sized suppliers, such as France and Brazil, where various large defence companies relied on exporting arms to Iraq, particularly during the 1980s. Iraq's ability to generate some level of supplier dependence allowed Baghdad to obtain better quality weapons, at better financial terms. And thirdly, the Baathist regime was able to separate its military relations with suppliers from its overall trade policies. This policy allowed Iraq to both obtain the best civilian and military imports that it had

access to and maintain greater political, economic, and military autonomy vis-à-vis its suppliers. This chapter explores these three issues.

PART I: 1968-1980

1. Recipient Socio-Economic Development

Prior to 1968, Iraq had one of the most underdeveloped economies in the world.[1] Since the Baath Party had no economic plan when it came to power in July 1968, it allowed the previous regime's five-year plan (1966-1969) to "run its course while it attempted to consolidate its power and develop its plans for the future of Iraq."[2] By 1970, the Baathist regime had created its own five-year National Development Plan (NDP), which was due to run between the fiscal years 1970/1971 and 1974/1975.[3] The NDP set out a number of goals, which included: improving Iraq's economic output labour productivity; modernising the country's economy by bringing in new technologies from abroad; and strengthening Iraq's private sector. Furthermore, under the NDP, the Iraqi government undertook to invest in numerous development projects in four sectors of the country's economy: agriculture, industry, transportation and communication, and building and services.[4]

Baathist goals for strengthening Iraq's economy were buttressed by the increase in oil revenues during the 1970s. Beginning in 1973, Iraq experienced a boom to its economy that

[1] For a detailed history of Iraq's economy from its founding until 1968, see Abbas Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq: Oil, Wars, Destruction of Development and Prospects, 1950-2010* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994), in particular chapters one through four. For a history of the role that oil revenues played in Iraq's economy during that formative period, see Rafael Kandiyoti, *Pipelines: Flowing Oil and Crude Politics* (London, I.B. Tauris, 2008), 33-83.
[2] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 55.
[3] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 62.
[4] See FBIS-MEA-74-071, "Saddam Husayn Meeting with Arab Journalists," *Baghdad INA* (April 10, 1974); FBIS-MEA-74-038, "Iraqi Transport Minister on Development Projects," *Baghdad Al-Jamhurriya* (February 9, 1974.)

resulted from a combination of internally-generated policies and externally-imposed circumstance. The internal factor contributing to the boom in Iraq's economy during the mid-1970s was the Baath Party's decision to nationalise Iraq's oil in 1972, which set up the Iraqi government to benefit from the rise in oil prices in the following year.

In terms of external factors, the 1970s were marked by an increasing demand for Middle Eastern oil by countries in Western Europe. For example, in 1973, two years after the military withdrawal from the Gulf, Great Britain was still importing three-fourths of its oil from the Middle East, a number that decreased after the discovery of North Sea oil.[5] Throughout the rest of Europe, around three-quarters of all foreign oil continued to come from the Gulf.[6] In October 1973, during the Arab-Israeli Yom Kippur War, OPEC led a boycott against exports of oil to the West. The result was a four-fold increase in the price of oil that not only shocked the world economy, but brought a dramatic increase in oil revenues to OPEC member states. While the Iraqi government urged other Arab states to nationalise their oil as well, it was also pursuing its own, independent policy regarding oil production. When it came to the 1973 OPEC oil embargo, the Iraqi government was the only Arab state that refused to reduce the country's production quota by 5% (as all other OPEC countries agreed to) and did not prevent Iraqi oil from reaching Western Europe.[7] In fact, during the embargo, Iraq *increased* its oil production and continued to sell oil to the European market, so that it benefited from both higher prices and increased exports. To justify Iraq's oil reaching Western Europe during the embargo, in an interview with the Baath Party's daily newspaper *al-Thawra* in 1974, Hussein explained that:

> Western Europe is not the strongest authority that supports... aggression [against Arab states.] The United States is the known authority for doing that through continued unconditional financial and

[5] After the discovery of North Sea oil, Middle Eastern oil to Great Britain decreased to 14 percent in 1983. See Louis, "Britain and the Middle East after 1945," in Brown (editor), *Diplomacy in the Middle East*, 45.
[6] Louis, "Britain and the Middle East after 1945," 45.
[7] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 94.

> economic support of the enemy and supply of weapons. It is natural that we direct the oil weapon at the United States and whoever aligns with it and not to [European] countries.[8]

From the perspective of the Baathist regime, Western Europe and the United States formed different parts of "Western imperialism." Some European countries, especially France, were amenable to Arab interests. (French foreign policy in the Middle East is discussed in greater detail in chapter three.) Consequently, Baathist leaders believed that they could better achieve its objectives on the world stage by driving a wedge between the two entities. In a 1979 meeting of top Baath Party decision-makers, Hussein described Iraq's strategy in the following terms:

> We should not rule out the importance of our strategy of persistence, thorough patience, and seriousness in the pursuit of isolating the European policy from the American policy. Strategically, this issue is linked to the unity of our nation [and] our vision of developing [Iraq's] role [in the world.] It is in our interest that Europe… remains [powerful] and that this entity not be associated with the American one.[9]

For a medium-sized power, using the oil weapon as a policy of trying to balance great powers against each other was an ambitious (if not unattainable) task. While Iraq never fully succeeded in attaining this objective, having the ability to separate its relationship with Europe from the United States enabled Baghdad to pursue numerous bilateral relations with different states without being subsumed into any particular bloc. Furthermore, Iraq's use of the oil weapon exemplified the Baathist regime's belief in the close link between politics and economics. In an interview with Arab journalists in April 1974, Hussein stated that Iraq does not "separate politics from economics… Consequently, our interest in foreign policy, Arab policy and the mobilization of the masses and the party is equal in importance to our interest in building the new economy [of Iraq.]"[10] The nationalisation of Iraq's oil was therefore driven by both

[8] SH-PDWN-D-000-458, "Saddam Hussein interview regarding geopolitics related to the effects of oil and U.S. policy," December 20, 1974.
[9] SH-SHTP-D-000-559, 1979.
[10] FBIS-MEA-74-071, 1974.

political considerations (especially by the Baath Party's emphasis on attaining Iraq's independence over its own resources) and economic interests.

Between 1968 and 1979, the price of oil increased by over seventeen-times, from $1.80 to $31.61 (in real terms.)[11] Meanwhile, during that period, Iraq's daily production of oil gradually increased as well, from 1.5 million barrels per day in 1968, to 2.0 million barrels per day in 1973, to 3.5 million barrels per day in 1979.[12] After the 1973 OPEC oil embargo, oil revenues as a percentage of Iraq's GNP jumped from 15% (in 1972) to 50% (1974), 57% (1976), 51% (1978), and 56% (1980.)[13] In the period between 1970 and 1980, Iraq's GDP grew 12% on an annual basis, consumption grew by over 13%, and construction and gross fixed investment each grew annually by 28%, an impressive feat.[14] Between 1970 and 1980, the construction and manufacturing sectors grew by over 250 percent each in real terms.[15] Oil revenues allowed for a considerable increase in the wealth of income held by ordinary Iraqis: by 1979, Iraq's GDP per capita reached roughly $4,219, one of the higher incomes in the region .[16]

Much of the oil revenues were diverted to increased military spending. According to Colgan, oil income increases "the state's propensity for international conflict, principally by reducing the leader's risk of domestic punishment for foreign policy adventurism [and in increasing] the state's military capabilities."[17] This seems to be partly true in the case of Iraq during the 1970s. In that period, Iraq's defence burden (i.e. military spending as a percentage of

[11] BP, *Statistical Review of World Energy 2013*. < http://www.bp.com/en/global/corporate/about-bp/energy-economics/statistical-review-of-world-energy-2013.html> Accessed: April 30, 2014.
[12] BP, *Statistical Review*, 2013.
[13] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 11-12.
[14] Abbas Alnasrawi, "Iraq's Odious Debt: Where do we go from here?" *Global Policy Forum* (March 29, 2004) < https://www.globalpolicy.org/component/content/article/168-general/37419-iraqs-odious-debt.html. >
[15] Yousif, H*uman Development in Iraq: 1950-1990*, 61.
[16] Joseph Sassoon, "Management of Iraq's Economy Pre and Post the 2003 War: An Assessment," in Ronen Zeidel, Amatzia Baram, Achim Rohde, *Iraq Between Occupations: Perspectives from 1920 to the Present* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 190.
[17] Colgan, *Petro-Aggression*, 119.

GNP) accounted for up to one-quarter of the country's economic output, a high percentage; the defence burden during that time ranged from a low of 14.9% (in 1972 and 1979) to a high of 25.5% (in 1973).[18] Spending on the ministries of defence and interior accounted for roughly 40 percent of the annual budget in 1978-1979.[19] A large portion of military spending was spent on arms imports, which accounted for anywhere between 34.5% of the government's defence expenditures in 1976 and 44.7% in 1979.[20] An important aspect of Iraq's oil-driven economic growth was the high-level of foreign exchange revenues that selling oil to world markets brought to the Baathist regime. Iraq's total reserves of foreign exchange increased from a yearly average of $500 million in 1968-1970, to an estimated $3 billion per year in the period between 1973 and 1975.[21] Just prior to the invasion of Iran in 1980, Iraq had an estimated $35 billion in foreign-exchange reserves, which was key to its ability to continue importing increasing amounts of advanced, modern weapon systems during the following decade.[22]

Despite the Baathist regime's high military spending, it also spent a considerable amount of the state budget on long-term socio-economic development projects. A centrepiece of the government's socio-economic plans was the educational programs that it invested in, in particular improving Iraq's literacy rate. In 1974, roughly 49.9% of Iraq's population between the ages of 15 and 44 (accounting for 2.2 million people) was illiterate; in the same year, the Baath Party called illiteracy a "dangerous evil" which was "thwarting political, economic, and social progress in the Arab world."[23] During the late 1970s, the RCC passed a law implementing

[18] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy,* 126; author's calculations.
[19] Achim Rohde, *State-Society Relations in Ba'thist Iraq: Facing Dictatorship* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 27.
[20] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy,* 126; author's calculations.
[21] World Bank figures for Total reserves (including gold, in current US$) for the period 1968-1975. Last updated: July 12, 2013. Accessed: August 3, 2013.
[22] Mofid, *Economic Consequences of the Gulf War*, 35.
[23] Christopher Lucas, "Arab Illiteracy and the Mass Literacy Campaign in Iraq," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. 25, No. 1 (February 1981), 78-79.

a National Campaign for Literacy and mandated free, compulsory primary school education for all Iraqis between the ages of 6 and 15.[24] In 1977, the Baathist regime increased government spending on education by 88%, a figure that "represented a greater percentage increase than for any other sector of the economy."[25] Whereas only 16% of Iraq's population went to primary school and 6% to secondary school in 1950, respective figures for these increased to 69% and 24% by 1970, and 100% and 57% by 1980.[26] Some of the Baathist regime's policies in the educational realm were arguably counterproductive. In 1975, the Iraqi state also nationalised all private institutions, from primary schools to universities.[27] For advanced studies, the Baathist regime began to send Iraqi professionals to foreign academic institutions. Beginning in the mid-1970s, many of the academics and intellectuals who went abroad never returned, "causing a never-ending brain drain."[28]

The Iraqi government's development policies were also erratic during the mid-to-late 1970s. According to Alnasrawi, after the expiry of the first NDP, "the RCC decided to abandon the continuity and stability features of planning in favour of investment programs decreed annually. The 1975 investment program was followed by [a yearly] investment program for 1976 and another one for 1977."[29] The switch to setting yearly development goals (rather than five-year plans) can be explained by the fact that most of the Iraqi government budget was tied to the price of oil, the volatility of which made long-term development difficult.

[24] Helms, *Iraq*, 96-97; Lucas, "Arab Illiteracy," 79.
[25] Lucas, "Arab Illiteracy," 79.
[26] Mufti, *Sovereign Creations*, 203.
[27] Yousif, H*uman Development in Iraq: 1950-1990*, 80.
[28] Rohde, *State-Society Relations in Ba'thist Iraq*, 27.
[29] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 73.

The Baath Party's commitment to industrial development was one area that stayed consistent throughout the late 1970s.[30] In 1976, the Iraqi under-Secretary of the Ministry of Industry and Mineral Subhi Yasin stressed that the "industrial sector was the leading factor in national development."[31] (Iraq's industrialisation is discussed in greater detail in the previous chapter.) Nevertheless, increasingly during the late 1970s, the Baathist regime was unable to create an overarching, long-term economic plan that provided a consistent economic plan for Iraq's development; especially during the late 1970s, Iraq embarked on some large-scale infrastructure projects that, when oil revenues dropped in the early 1980s, had to be abandoned. Perhaps because it lacked a strategic picture of how it will transform the Iraqi economy, by the late 1970s, the Baathist government had stopped making government allocations public and ceased publishing information about Iraq's overall economy.[32]

2. Supplier Export Dependence

As was noted in chapter two, although security cooperation is fundamentally a political-military relationship, suppliers or recipients may try to transform it into more of a commercial activity. In rare cases, depending on the size of its government revenues and the supplier state with which it is interacting, a recipient's arms imports may contribute to the supplier's dependence on selling its military equipment abroad.[33] Although Baghdad was not able to create supplier dependence from the two major superpowers (i.e. the USSR or the United States), over time it

[30] For example, see FBIS-MEA-77-190, "Progressive Front Discusses National Development Plan," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (September 29, 1977); FBIS-MEA-78-067, "Al-Bakr Speaks on Industrial Development," *Baghdad Voice of the Masses* (April 5, 1978.)
[31] FBIS-MEA-76-241, "Iraqi 5-Year Plan," *Baghdad INA* (December 14, 1976.)
[32] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 73-74.
[33] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 235-248.

was able to form a large-enough portion of French arms sales and use supplier dependence to ask Paris for more lenient financial terms on transfers of better military equipment.

Following the nationalization of Iraq's oil industry, *Compagnie Francaise des Petroles*, a French company that participated in the IPC, was offered "special treatment" by the Baathist regime. Hussein (then the civilian leader of the Baath and vice-chairman of the RCC) visited France in 1972 and concluded a ten-year agreement under which Iraq sold *Compagnie Francaise des Petroles* a 23.75% stake of the oil produced by the Iraqi national oil company.[34] Other Western powers were not offered the same treatment: after the October 1973 Arab-Israeli War, the Dutch and American shares in the Basra Petroleum Company, or BPC (a former subsidiary of the IPC) were nationalised.[35] In 1974, Hussein stated that the "nationalisation [of oil] will provide us with total economic independence, which will enable us to control our wealth and to freely deal with the countries of the world on an equal basis and mutual interests."[36] Ultimately, in December 1975 *Compagnie Francaise des Petroles*' shares in the IPC were nationalised as well.[37] Nevertheless, the Iraqi government was able to cultivate a close commercial and military relationship with Paris in which the Baathist regime was able to generate French export dependence.

Historically, France was dependent on arms exports for the survival of its military industry. During the mid-to-late 1970s, arms exports accounted for between 35% and 40% of all jobs in the French defence industry.[38] Furthermore, at the start of the 1970s, arms exports contributed to 0.3% of France's GNP; later in the decade, French military exports rose to

[34] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 154.
[35] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 155.
[36] SH-PDWN-D-000-458, 1974.
[37] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 59-60.
[38] By comparison, arms exports in the United States (which has an internally larger demand, account for 20%-25% of all defence industry jobs. Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 245.

between 0.7% and 0.8% of its GNP.[39] Baathist leaders recognised the importance of exports to French industry and sought to become a major customer of French civilian and military goods. On the military side, Iraq bought from Paris some of France's most advanced aircraft (Mirages), missiles (including the Exocet, Milan, HOT, Magic, Martel and Armat missiles), helicopters (Alouette IIIs, Gazelles), howitzers (AMX 30-GCT), and radars (Tiger-G). French military industry was also involved in building defence electronic plants, a navy yard, and nuclear power programs in Iraq. On the civilian side, French industry was involved in building in Iraq "petrochemical plans, desalination plants, gas liquefaction complexes, housing projects, telecommunications systems, broadcasting networks, fertiliser plants… car assembly plants, a new airport, [and] a subway system."[40] In the long-term, these large-scale military and civilian deals gradually created a French export reliance on selling goods and services to Iraq that worked to Baghdad's advantage in the next decade. By the 1980s, France supplied Iraq with more advanced military equipment, allowed it to purchase expensive weapons through more favourable financial terms, and provided aid to Iraq's indigenous military industry to a greater extent than other countries.

3. Recipient-Supplier Trade Relations

In terms of Iraqi military imports between 1968 and 1980, defence dependence theory's predictions that greater security cooperation between two states leads to enhanced economic relations turned out to be only partly true. The only time that this was the case was in the period between 1968 and 1975, when the Kremlin was able to link economic trade with military aid. Trade between Iraq and the Soviet Union increased from 49.4 million roubles in 1968 to 596.2

[39] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 243.
[40] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 60.

million roubles in 1975. The Iraqi National Oil Company also signed a number of contracts with Soviet firms to explore oil in Iraq,[41] and Soviet technicians worked on a contract for the construction of a 585-km pipeline between Baghdad and Basra and an expansion of production at the North Rumaila field.[42] Baghdad also developed closer economic ties with Socialist-bloc states, such as Czechoslovakia and Hungary.[43] These ties led an under-secretary in Iraq's Ministry of Economy to tell the *International Herald Tribune* in April 1975 that,

> We cannot sacrifice technology for ideology… Of course, we have to keep our friends happy and throw some business their way. Thus we buy [American] Boeing aircraft and let [Americans] build our oil refineries. But a less important project, like a brick factory, will go to Bulgaria, even though we know we can get a better one from France.[44]

Rhetoric aside, however, Moscow's willingness to provide military aid to Baghdad did not result in a long-term Iraqi preference for Soviet commercial goods. In fact, in the period between 1971 and 1975, Western countries accounted for nearly eight times as much in civilian trade with Iraq as they did with the Soviet Union or Eastern European states, even though they provided little to no military aid to Iraq.[45] Additionally, Iraqi trade with the United States grew from $32 million in 1971 to $284 million in 1974, even though the two countries did not have diplomatic relations and Washington was not a military supplier to the Iraqi armed forces. Over time, even though Moscow and other socialist states continued to function as Baghdad's primary military suppliers, trade with the socialist bloc countries as a share of Iraq's total foreign exchange reserves declined from 13% in 1974 to just 2.6% in 1981.[46] As Smolansky notes,

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[41] For example, see FBIS-MEA-74-038, "Iraq-USSR Sign Contract for Seismic Survey," *Baghdad INA* (February 24, 1974.)
[42] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 22, 52.
[43] FBIS-MEA-74-087, "Iraqi-Hungarian Agreement," *Baghdad INA* (April 27, 1974); FBIS-MEA-74-092, "Hungarian Heavy Industry Minister Arrives [in Iraq,]" *Baghdad Domestic Service* (May 8, 1974); FBIS-EEU-74-068, "[Czechoslovakia's] Metallurgy Minister Simon Begins Visit to Iraq," *Prague CTK* (April 6, 1974.)
[44] Iraqi Under-Secretary of Economy quoted in Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 180. Jimmy Carter approved the sale of 5 Boeing airplanes to Iraq in 1980. See Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 115.
[45] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 24.
[46] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 181.

> Having used the Kremlin's assistance to position itself for the nationalization of the IPC [Iraq Petroleum Company], Baghdad took advantage of the explosive increase in oil profits which resulted from the restructuring of the world petroleum market in the mid-1970s, and, in short order, proved itself to be an autonomous trading partner rather than a compliant state.[47]

In August 1972, after governmental delegations and freelance oil salesmen arrived in Baghdad to make offers for Iraqi oil, the Baathist regime concluded a number of major oil deals with the energy ministries and other state oil organisations in Japan, India, Greece and Brazil.[48] Japan was an especially important partner with Iraq's energy industry; in 1973, it gave Iraq a $500 million loan for oil exploration; in the following year, it provided Baghdad with a $1 billion loan to finance industrial projects that included a refinery and a petrochemical complex; and in 1975, a Japanese consortium was awarded a contract for the building of a chemical fertiliser plant at Khor al-Zubair.[49] Under an Iraqi-Japanese economic and scientific cooperation pact, signed in January 1974, Japan agreed to send technical experts to Iraq and to train Iraqi technicians in Japan and supply Iraq with raw materials and oil tankers, and Baghdad agreed to supply Japan with "crude oil, liquefied gas, petroleum products, and other commodities."[50] Japan remained an important economic partner of Iraq during the 1970s even though it did not provide any military aid to Iraq.

One of the main points of the Baath Party's National Development Plan was to diversify Iraq's economic trade partners.[51] Following up on the plan's goals during the late 1970s Iraq signed economic and technical cooperation pacts with a wide variety of countries outside of the Soviet bloc.[52] The text of such agreements often noted that the other country (e.g. Egypt or

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[47] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 282.
[48] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 155.
[49] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 23.
[50] See FBIS-MEA-74-012, "Agreement on Economic Aid," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (January 17, 1974.)
[51] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq,* 63.
[52] FBIS-MEA-74-050, "France, Iraq Sign Economic Cooperation Agreement," *Baghdad INA* (March 12, 1974); FBIS-MEA-74-212, "Economic, Technical Cooperation Pact with Japan Ratified," *Baghdad INA* (November 1, 1974); FBIS-MEA-77-098, "New 5-Year Trade Agreement Signed with PRC," *Baghdad INA* (May 18, 1977); FBIS-MEA-77-021, "Joint Iraqi-Spanish Statement Reported," *Baghdad INA* (January 31, 1977.)

Ireland or some other trading partner) will provide Iraq goods and services which will contribute to the "national development plan."[53] Furthermore, local Iraqi media reported that foreign businesses that were interested in operating in Iraq were doing so as part of their desire to contribute to Iraq's national development. For example, an October 1977 news report by *Baghdad INA* noted that in a meeting with RCC member and Trade Minister Hasan Ali, Great Britain's Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Frank Judd "pointed out the desire of British firms in participating in projects which would contribute to the national development plan in Iraq."[54]

Consequently, the diversified nature of contracts that Iraq pursued with foreign companies during the late 1970s reflected the NDP's goal of economic diversification. The American conglomerate Brown and Root received a contract to construct an oil terminal at al-Faw to service the North Rumaila oilfield; the Soviet Union constructed the Tharthar canal in the Tigris and opened it in October 1976; Mannesmann (a German company) completed an oil pipeline between Kirkuk and Dörtyol (a port city in Turkey) in January 1977.[55] Flushed with greater oil revenues, the Iraqis could now buy the best Western civilian imports. As Jawad Hashim, director of the economic staff for then-Vice President and Vice Chairman of the RCC Saddam Hussein, told the *New York Times* in 1975, "What we want is the best technology and the fastest possible fulfilment of orders and contracts. That is more important than the price."[56] Although Moscow remained Baghdad's primary military supplier throughout the 1970s, Iraq's trade with the non-Soviet bloc in this decade highlighted the Baath Party's commitment to

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[53] Examples include FBIS-MEA-74-226, "Protocol on Cooperation with Egypt Ratified," *Baghdad Domestic Service* (November 20, 1974); FBIS-MEA-76-013, "[Canadian] Secretary on Cooperation [with Iraq]," *Baghdad INA* (January 18, 1976); FBIS-MEA-78-088, "Iraq, Ireland Sign Health Cooperation Agreement," *Baghdad INA* (May 4, 1978.)
[54] FBIS-MEA-77-197, "Minister Discusses Trade with UK Minister," *Baghdad INA* (October 11, 1977.)
[55] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 180; Helms, *Iraq*, 50.
[56] Juan de Onis, "Iraq's Oil Wealth Opens a New Market for the West," *New York Times* (March 19, 1975), 69, 73.

economic and trade diversification, as well as a preference for Western expertise and technology.[57]

PART II: 1980-1990

1. Recipient Socio-Economic Development

From the perspective of the Baathist regime, the notion that war had an opportunity cost in terms of forgone investment in human and social capital was trumped by the belief that war actually led to economic progress and industrialisation.[58] This idea was expressed by Hussein in the mid-1980s: "All scientific advances in the world occurred during and after World War I and World War II."[59] While Iraq's economy did in fact experience large-scale industrialisation by the end of the 1980s, the war initially presented the Baathist leaders with numerous challenges. The most serious challenge was the closure of two of Iraq's three major pipelines by Syria, which was allied with Iran, early in the war.[60] Subsequently, Baghdad was able to export oil only through the pipeline going to Turkey, which amounted to one million barrels per day, or about one-third of the amount Iraq was able to export prior to 1980; oil revenues fell sharply, from an estimated $26.1 billion in 1980 to $10.4 billion in 1981.[61]

To sustain the high costs of the Iran-Iraq War, Baghdad strengthened its regional diplomacy. Throughout the 1980s, Iraqi officials increased their presence in and contacts with

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[57] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 20. In 1977, American exports to Iraq reached some $211 million; the number of Iraqi students studying in the U.S. also increased during this time. See Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 132. Trade with Japan and Western Germany during the late 1970s also increased substantially. See Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 173.
[58] Chapter three explores this subject in greater detail.
[59] Hussein in SH-SHTP-A-000-627, 1983-1984.
[60] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 43.
[61] In 1979, Iraq's oil exports stood at 3.3 million barrels of oil per day (MBD). By 1983, its oil exports had fallen to 0.74 MBD. See Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq,* 80 and 83.

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Morocco, Jordan, the UAE, Oman, the Yemen Arab Republic, Sudan, and Bahrain, in the hope of gaining their military, diplomatic, and economic support.[62] The most important economic support to Iraq in the region came from the Gulf States. Early in the war, both Saudi Arabia and Kuwait agreed to sell some 300,000 barrels per day of their own oil on Iraq's account, to be reciprocated later.[63] By 1981, both countries' contribution to Iraq stood at around $10 billion,[64] and by 1982, the GCC contribution had increased up to a reported $25 billion in interest-free loans and grants to Iraq.[65] During that early period of the war, the United States also provided large-scale loans to Baghdad.[66]

The financial contributions of the Gulf States enabled the Iraqi regime not only to continue its war with Iran, but to shield its population from the effects of the war. Although more financially pressed than ever because of war spending, Iraqi public spending actually rose from $21 billion in 1980 to $29.5 billion in 1982.[67] In order to prevent a shortage of commodities, much of this spending was devoted to importing civilian commodities. Furthermore, to appease the growing number of Iraqi soldiers in the military, the Iraqi government spent a considerable amount of government revenues on improving the standard of living of the officer corps. "The outcome of this guns-and-butter policy," writes Karsh, "was that the ferocious military offensive which raged on the battlefield was hardly felt on the Iraqi home front."[68]

Iraq's high military spending is exemplified in archival notes from a 1982 Baathist cabinet meeting which discussed the yearly government budget. According to the Iraqi Finance

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[62] Schofield, *Militarization and War*, 138; Helms, *Iraq*, 181.
[63] Helms, *Iraq*, 184.
[64] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 158.
[65] Helms, *Iraq*, 184.
[66] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 42-44.
[67] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 153.
[68] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 153.

Minister's estimates, government spending on the Iraqi National Defence Sector would account for 3,600 million Iraqi dinars (ID) out of a total government budget of 8,713 ID, equivalent to 41% of the total budget.[69] The Finance Minister also pointed out that over 80% of the overall increase in the general Iraqi budget was devoted to "imports of the Ministry of Defence from abroad [i.e. arms imports.]"[70] In addition, SIPRI data shows that Iraqi military imports increased every year in the period between 1980 and 1984, by which time the amount of conventional weapons imports had more than doubled over the pre-war figures.[71] In every year between 1982 and 1987, Iraq was the largest arms importer in the world.[72] Furthermore, the chart below shows that at the height of the war, military expenditures amounted to an upwards of 47.4% of GNP (in 1986), or roughly one-half of Iraq's economy. In other years during the war, arms imports accounted from a low of 39.3% of Baghdad's military expenditures (1988), to a high of 63.4% (1981).

Iraqi Defence Burden, 1980-1990

Year	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
Military Spending/ GNP (%)	25.4	44.7	39.1	44.3	37.9	47.4	43.1	40.2	32	48
Arms Imports/ Military Spending (%)	63.4	62.9	49.7	55.7	39.3	43.5	42.4	39.3	20.9	23.5

Source: Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 130; author's calculations.

The policy of maintaining or increasing public spending levels on civilian and military goods, both foreign and domestic, had significant costs: within two to three years of the Iran-Iraq War, Iraq had depleted its $35 billion in foreign exchange reserves it had before the war.[73] Furthermore, inflation began to increase drastically.[74] As the Iraqi Finance Minister warned the

[69] SH-SHTP-A-000-635, 1982.
[70] The Iraqi budget rose by over 74 percent over the previous year according to the Iraqi Finance Minister. See SH-SHTP-A-000-635, 1982.
[71] SIPRI, *Iraqi Military Imports*, 1980-1984.
[72] SIPRI, *World Military Imports*, 1982-1987.
[73] Mofid, *Economic Consequences of the Gulf War*, 35.
[74] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 95.

Baathist leadership in the aforementioned meeting in 1982, this increase in defence imports from abroad was contributing to the high inflation inside Iraq:

> Inflation still exists in the Iraqi market. Yes, it would be better if the import program [of civilian goods] expands; however, our external resources [i.e. foreign exchange reserves] do not enable us to expand the import program. So, we [have] no other choice but to reduce the import program, even with a greater rate than… had [been] advised, because it is connected to the [issue of foreign exchange.][75]

With a depleting foreign exchange, Iraqi leaders began to gradually cut large-scale civilian programs in 1982.[76] At the same time, Riyadh agreed to Baghdad's request to build pipelines going through Saudi territory and to handle oil exports from Iraq's south. Additionally, Turkey allowed the Baathist government to build another pipeline in northern Iraq and to expand the capacity of the existing pipeline. The result was that by the end of the decade, Iraq was once again exporting around 3.3 MBD, roughly equivalent to the amount that it was exporting before Syria's closure of two key Iraqi pipelines going through its territory.[77] Meanwhile, Washington's resumption of diplomatic relations with Baghdad in 1984 also benefited Iraq's economic situation. During the mid-1980s, Washington approved a number of financial aid packages that alleviated the war burden on Iraq, including a $484 million loan for Baghdad to construct an oil pipeline, a $200 million short-term credit line for Iraq to be able to buy U.S. goods, and several hundreds of millions of dollars' worth of agricultural loan guarantees.[78]

Much of the government's budget was devoted to the Iraqi military spending. In 1983, military spending accounted for 59.5% of Iraq's GDP; that number fell to 54.4% (1984) and 38.4% (1985), but military spending still made up a large part of Iraq's economy at the end of the war (23.1%.)[79] Furthermore, during the mid-1980s, the Iraqi armed forces accounted for roughly

[75] SH-SHTP-A-000-635, 1982.
[76] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 89-90.
[77] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 86.
[78] Resnick, "Strange Bedfellows," 162.
[79] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 94.

one-fifth of the overall labour force.[80] The switch from a development-focused economy in the 1970s to a war-time economy in the 1980s was reflected in the Iraqi government's budgetary documents. For example, in 1987, the Iraqi Finance Minister Hasan Tawfiq stated that the annual budget "will pay special attention to providing and facilitating all the necessary means to promote and reinforce the fighting capabilities of the Iraqi Armed Forces in order to ensure their readiness to crush any aggressive Iranian attempt."[81] As a secondary goal, the statement also noted that government funds will also be spent on "continuing the process of building a developed modern society."[82]

Despite efforts by Baghdad to insulate the population from the conflict, the war ultimately had negative long-term effects on the Iraqi economy. Firstly, the impact on Iraq's population was devastating: at least 100,000 Iraqis were killed during the war.[83] Additionally, the cost of the reconstruction of Iraq as a result of the war was estimated to be between $230 billion and $450 billion.[84] The third and most detrimental long-term issue was Iraqi debt. Military expenditures averaged around $15 billion per year during the eight years of war.[85] Kuwaiti and Saudi support was not enough to sustain such high spending; the Iraqi government had to borrow from other sources. By 1986, Baghdad's debt to Moscow and European and Japanese banks reached the same level as was owed to the Arab Gulf states. Before Iraq lost the Faw Peninsula to Iran in 1986 (described more in the next chapter), Iraq was able to reschedule its loans to these bankers, who had agreed to Baghdad's requests for financial aid "on the assumption that Iraq would survive the war and would then become a lucrative market for

[80] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 92. Table 5.2.
[81] FBIS-MEA-86-230, "Finance Minister on 1987 General Budget Goals," *Baghdad INA* (November 30, 1986.)
[82] FBIS-MEA-86-230, 1986-11-30.
[83] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 99; Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 270-271.
[84] Long, *Saddam's War of Words*, 10 and 191; Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 271.
[85] Tripp, *A History of Iraq*, 238.

foreign investment—seemingly a safe bet since Iraq had the second highest proven reserves of oil in the world."[86] Partly, it was Iraq's ability to roll over debt during the war that led Baghdad to "believe it could continue this practice in the war's aftermath, relying on incoming oil revenues to cover expenses, and discounting future revenues in favour of loans."[87] By the end of the 1980s, debt to the Gulf countries was roughly $50 billion (primarily to Saudi Arabia and Kuwait); it amounted to between $30 and $35 billion to European states by the end of the war.[88] Of Iraq's primary military suppliers, Baghdad owed the USSR and France roughly $20 billion.[89]

Interestingly, the high level of debt did little to influence the Baath Party's decision-making when the Iran-Iraq War ended. In 1988, *The Economist* estimated that Iraq would have to provide around $7 billion in debt service payments to Western banks in that year alone.[90] In 1989, Iraq had $13 billion in oil revenues, while government expenditures stood at $23 billion. Consequently, Iraq's already-high debt increased by an additional $10 billion after the end of the Iran-Iraq War. Furthermore, between 1988 and 1990, Iraq's defence burden (military spending as a proportion of GDP) stood at 23 percent.[91] Military spending in 1988 and 1989 averaged $5 billion per year, half of which went to "reconstruction projects," which included victory monuments and a new presidential palace.[92] There were some positive signs that the Iraqi government would be able to pay back the foreign debt. For example, in 1989, Saudi Arabia signed a non-aggression and military assistance pact with Iraq, and later converted some of

[86] Pelletiere, Johnson, and Rosenberger, *Iraqi Power and U.S. Security in the Middle East*, 12.
[87] Marr, "Iraqi Foreign Policy," in Brown (editor), *Diplomacy in the Middle East*, 205, footnote 59
[88] Marr, "Iraqi Foreign Policy," in Brown (editor), *Diplomacy in the Middle East*, 195.
[89] Long, *Saddam's War of Words*, 10.
[90] Pelletiere, Johnson, and Rosenberger, *Iraqi Power and U.S. Security in the Middle East*, 80, footnote 27.
[91] Sandler, *The Economics of Defence*, 9.
[92] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 277-278.

Baghdad's debts into gift.[93] On the other hand, Kuwait did not follow in Saudi Arabia's steps, and in fact Kuwait's emir pushed Iraq to begin repaying its wartime debt.

The Iraqi government tried to resolve some of the troubles in the economy through a significant privatisation reform program.[94] Dozens of state-owned enterprises were privatised between 1987 and 1988. Meanwhile, major reforms took place within state-owned factories, where production increased by 27 percent and labour productivity rose by 24 percent in the same period.[95] While privatisation programs were no doubt significant, the state continued to dominate the Iraqi economy during the rest of the decade. The firms that were privatised were usually bought by one of a handful of families with close ties to the Iraqi government; as Rohde notes, the Baath Party's privatisation drive "turned the former public monopolies into private ones in the hands of [Saddam] Husayn's favourites."[96] Beyond a few initial successes, therefore, the Baath Party was unable to create a robust market economy.[97]

In attempting to quickly develop heavy industries (e.g. machinery and petrochemicals), the Baathist regime also often preferred to hire foreign contractors who could complete projects quickly. As Bassam Yousif points out, foreign-operated turn-key projects "involved minimal local technical input and hence constrained the development of local skills and technology."[98] Iraq's GDP per capita in 1989 was $4,400, down by almost a third since 1980.[99] Following the

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[93] Kevin Woods, *The Mother of All Battles: Saddam Hussein's strategic plan for the Persian Gulf War*, (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2008), 47.
[94] In June 1982, the Ninth Regional Baath Party Congress declared that the private sector is "non-exploitative" and therefore does not contradict socialism. See Kamil Mahdi, "Iraq's Economic Reforms In Perspective: Public Sector, Private Sector, and the Sanctions," *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2007), 214-215.
[95] Kiren Chaudhry, "On the Way to the Market: Economic Liberalization and Iraq's Invasion of Kuwait," *Middle East Report* No. 170 (May-June 1991), 14-17.
[96] Rohde, *State-Society Relations in Ba'thist Iraq*, 45.
[97] Kiren Chaudhry, "Economic Liberalization and the Lineages of the Rentier State," *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Oct., 1994), 1-25.
[98] Yousif, H*uman Development in Iraq: 1950-1990,* 59.
[99] Alnasrawi, "Iraq's Odious Debt."

end of the Iran-Iraq war, the Iraqi government also faced an enormous challenge in deciding whether to demobilise the Iraqi military, which had quadrupled in size since the start of the war and reached over one million soldiers.[100] A large scale demobilisation would have had numerous negative implications, including an enormous rise in unemployment. By 1990, only one-quarter of the Iraqi military was demobilised. Some of the Iraqi soldiers who returned home became a domestic security threat as they often turned into criminals, selling their weapons on the black market in order to provide for their families.[101] By the end of the Iran-Iraq War, Iraq's economy was in a much worse shape than at the start of the decade, and prospects for its recovery were made bleak by the high debt the Iraqi government it owed to external creditors.[102]

2. Supplier Export Dependence

During much of the 1980s Iraq was the top purchaser of foreign arms in the world. In four out of the eight years of the Iran-Iraq War, arms imports accounted for over half of Iraqi total imports: 1983 (57.3%), 1984 (82.9%), 1986 (65.6%), and 1987 (74.3%.)[103] For much of the war Iraq was unable to export about two-thirds of its oil, especially after Syria shut down two of the three major oil pipelines running out of Iraq. With oil revenues dwindling, Iraq's foreign exchange reserves were depleted in about two years. Consequently, although Baghdad continued its oil-

[100] Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 135.
[101] Rohde, *State-Society Relations in Ba'thist Iraq*, 46.
[102] After the 2003 overthrow of Saddam's regime, Iraq's "odious debt," dating largely back to the 1980s era, became a major case-study in public international law regarding whether sovereign states have a right to unilaterally repudiate debt obligations if the debt was incurred when the sovereign's people did not consent to the borrowing, the people did not benefit by the proceeds, and the creditors knew this at the time. For more on the Doctrine of Odious debt and its applicability in the case of Iraq, see Anna Gelpern, "What Iraq and Argentina Might Learn from Each Other," *Rutgers School of Law-Newark, Research Papers Series Paper*, No. 103, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Summer 2005), 391-414 and Joe Siegle, "After Iraq, Let's Forgive Some Other Debts," *International Herald Tribune* (February 19, 2004).
[103] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 96, Table 5.4.

for-arms policy continued during the 1980s,[104] throughout the war the Baathist regime often had to go through foreign intermediaries to get its weapons; in particular, Iraq's Arab Gulf partners were key to financing Iraqi purchases of ammunition and artillery.[105] Foreign economic aid, often in the form of loans, allowed Soviet, American, and European sources also allowed Iraq to sustain high military spending and to continue exporting foreign arms. Military diversification also pushed different suppliers to export weapons to Iraq on more lenient terms. For example, in the late 1980s Moscow offered to export MiG-29s (at the time the most advanced Soviet fighter plane) to Iraq through low-interest loans, successfully stopping the Iraqi government from purchasing the French Mirage 2000 aircraft that it was considering.[106]

In some instances, Baghdad was able to generate a medium-to-high level of supplier dependence on exports to Iraq. For example, between 1980 and 1990, Iraq was the biggest customer of French arms.[107] According to several sources, Iraqi arms imports accounted for 40% of French arms exports in the early 1980s.[108] Furthermore, Jentleson notes that "the Iraqi purchase of 130 Mirage fighters was said to have saved the French manufacturer *Dassault* from bankruptcy."[109] Meanwhile, Timmerman notes that in 1986, France delivered 270 Exocet missiles to Iraq, or about three-quarters of *Aerospatiale*'s production.[110] The importance of Iraqi purchases of French military exports translated into tangible benefits for the Baathist regime.

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[104] The oil-for-arms nature of Iraqi military imports during the 1980s is expressed by the Iraqi Military Intelligence Chief in SH-SHTP-D-000-572, 1981.
[105] See, for example, SH-SHTP-D-000-856, "Meeting between Saddam Hussein and his commanding officers at the Armed Forces General Command regarding preparing forces for battle," circa November 1980 and SH-SHTP-D-000-572, 1981.
[106] "[Iraqi] Air Force," *Federation of American Scientists* (November 3, 1998) <fas.org/nuke/guide/iraq/agency/af.htm.>
[107] SIPRI, *French Military Exports*, 1980-1990.
[108] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 45; Cordesman and Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, 156.
[109] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 45.
[110] Spare parts and other military equipment produced by *Dassault*, *Aerospatiale*, *Matra*, and other French military firms were often picked up by Iraqi Airways directly from France. See FBIS-MEA-83-198, "Planes Pick up 'Sensitive Material' in France," *Paris AFP* (October 11, 1983.)

For example, after the Iraqi nuclear facility at Osirak was destroyed by the Israeli Air Force in June 1981,[111] Tariq Aziz flew to Paris to discuss arms sales and cooperation. In an interview with *Le Monde* following talks with French defence officials, Aziz stated that Iraq and France reached a nuclear "agreement in principle" and that "France will supply Iraq, as in the past, with the means of developing its nuclear technology program."[112] In addition, in 1983, as Iraq was awaiting the delivery of Mirage F-1s that it ordered France agreed to lease five *Super Etendard*s, an advanced fighter aircraft which had only entered service in the French military a few years earlier.[113] France was also willing to train Iraqis to acquire the latest avionics and electronics knowledge, including the ability of "fooling… countermeasures [which] were designed to protect NATO aircraft from attack by enemy missiles and planes."[114] France also proved willing to provide military equipment to Iraq increasingly on a loan basis.[115] As was explained in *Le Monde* in 1983, "At the political level, France does not want Baghdad to be defeated, since a victory for Tehran would considerably change the balance of forces in the Gulf and in the Near East as a whole."[116] The article went further to explain that were Iraq to be defeated, "Paris would lose its stake in Iraq."[117] France's backing of the Iraqi war effort led Aziz, who was appointed Foreign Minister in January 1983, to state that,

> France is our main partner in the political, economic, commercial, and military spheres. We have identical concepts on the ways of ensuring that countries in the Middle East have independence and stability. French firms are contributing to the growth of all sectors of our economy. Our arms

[111] For more on the bombing of the Osirak reactor and its implications on Iraq's nuclear weapons program, see Malfrid Braut-Hegghammer, "Revisiting Osirak: Preventive Attacks and Nuclear Proliferation Risks," *International Security*, Vol. 36, No. 1 (Summer 2011), 101-132.
[112] FBIS-MEA-81-167, "Aziz on Nuclear Cooperation, Gulf War, Kurds," *Paris Le Monde* (August 22, 1981.)
[113] FBIS-MEA-83-200, "Husayn Expects French Planes Before End Oct," *Paris AFP* (October 13, 1983.) The Super Etendard was made by *Dassault*, the same French firm that made the Mirage F-1s which Iraq was waiting for. Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 40.
[114] Timmerman, *The Death Lobby*, 118.
[115] This decision would prove an incorrect one from a French perspective, as Iraq would prove to be unable to repay billions of dollars in loans back to France, much of which was connected to military imports.
[116] FBIS-MEA-83-097, "Le Monde: 'Aziz Offers Oil to Pay Arms Debt,'" *Paris Le Monde* (May 14, 1983.)
[117] FBIS-MEA-83-097, 1983.

> purchases account for around 40 percent of French exports. The total value of our trade is several times greater than that of our trade with the USSR for instance to which we are, nonetheless, bound by a friendship treaty.[118]

Another country which exhibited some elements of supplier dependence was Brazil. Between 1980 and 1990, Iraq was the biggest customer of Brazilian arms.[119] Baghdad's imports of weapons from Brazil had begun in the previous decade, but increased substantially during the 1980s. Given the smaller size of Brazil's defence industry (compared to the Soviet Union, United States, and France), Iraqi imports were crucial to its growth during the decade. In 1980, for example, Iraq and Brazil signed an agreement on cooperation in the field of the "peaceful uses of nuclear energy."[120] After the bombing of the French-built Osirak nuclear reactor in 1981 by the Israeli air force, Brazil continued to work on Iraq's nuclear program, reportedly sending enriched uranium to Iraq in the early 1980s.[121] In addition to security cooperation, the Iraqi government sought to expand commercial trade with Brazilian firms.[122] While Brazil was not willing to provide everything that Baghdad requested,[123] the Brazilian government was willing to provide much of the arms and military technologies that Iraq requested for the majority of the Iran-Iraq War.

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[118] FBIS-MEA-83-007, "Tariq Aziz Optimistic on Iraq-Iran War," *Paris Le Monde* (January 8, 1983.)
[119] SIPRI, *Brazilian Arms Exports*, 1980-1990.
[120] Iraqi Government, "Agreement between the Government of the Federative Republic of Brazil and the Republic of Iraq on the Peaceful Uses of Nuclear Energy," signed in Baghdad on January 5, 1980, entered into force October 9, 1981.
[121] The Baathist regime denied that Brazil was sending Iraq enriched uranium. See FBIS-MEA-81-127, "Saddam Husayn Interviewed by Brazilian Television," *Rio de Janeiro O GLOBO* (June 30, 1981.)
[122] FBIS-MEA-80-016, "Tariq 'Aziz Lauds Relations, Nuclear Cooperation with Brazil," *Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO* (January 20, 1980); FBIS-MEA-81-167, "Minister Signs Brazilian Cooperation Minutes," B*aghdad Domestic Service* (August 28, 1981); FBIS-MEA-83-178, "Joint Economic Minutes Signed," *Baghdad INA* (September 12, 1983.)
[123] For example, according to Iraqi government notes from the early 1980s, Brazil seemed to turn down numerous Iraqi requests for arms. See SH-SHTP-D-000-572, 1981 – 1993.

3. Recipient-Supplier Trade Relations

The diversification of Iraq's economic partners continued to be a primary goal of the Iraqi government during the 1980s. For example, the 1982 Baath Party Congress report stated that "the maintenance of all [of Iraq's] political, economic, military and other requirements" requires fulfilling several "tasks," the first among which was,

> Establishing balanced international relations with various forces in the world, which are closely linked to the national interests on local and Arab levels... [There is a] need to diversify Iraq's foreign relations [not only] with the power centres of the world [but also] with those growing ones [i.e. emerging economies.][124]

Consequently, even though Moscow continued to be Baghdad's top military supplier during the 1980s (although its share of overall military imports declined), the majority of Iraqi non-military imports during the 1980s came from countries other than the Soviet Union. Firstly, Iraq increased economic and trade relationships with Arab countries.[125] Secondly, as the quote above indicates, Iraq sought to strengthen its relations with emerging economies as well.[126] Thirdly, Baghdad sought to improve its economic relationship with Western powers, including the United States, as well as Japan. In the period between 1980 and 1985, the top supplier of Iraq's non-military imports was a non-military supplier state: Japan, which accounted for 14% of total Iraqi civilian imports. This was followed by Germany (9%), which did supply some arms

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[124] Iraqi Government, "Baath Party Report," 1982.

[125] For examples of Iraq's economic cooperation with Arab countries in this period, see the following articles: *Baghdad INA*: FBIS-MEA-83-044, "[Moroccan] Cooperation Minutes Signed with Iraq 2 Mar" (March 2, 1983); FBIS-MEA-83-158, "Egyptian Trade Minister, Delegation Visit" (August 12, 1983); FBIS-MEA-83-160, "[Egyptian Minister of Economy and Foreign Trade] As-Said Makes Statement, Departs" (August 16, 1986); FBIS-MEA-84-011, "[Iraqi-Saudi] Cooperation Agreement Signed" (January 14, 1984); FBIS-MEA-87-031, "Minutes of Cooperation Singed With UAE" (February 17, 1987.)

[126] All of the following articles are from *Baghdad INA*: FBIS-MEA-82-025, "Joint [Iraqi-Czech] Cooperation Minutes" (February 5, 1982); FBIS-MEA-83-068, "[Iraqi, Belgian] Finance, Industry Ministers [Meet]" (April 6, 1983); FBIS-MEA-84-021, "[Iraqi Finance Minister] Meets with [Indonesian] Finance Minister" (January 28, 1984); FBIS-MEA-86-031, "Visits Ends; [Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation] Agreements Signed [with Bulgaria]" (February 13, 1986); FBIS-MEA-86-057, "Joint Minutes Signed With Turkey; Ozal Departs" (March 24, 1986.)

and weapons technologies to Iraq, and Turkey (8%), which did not.[127] Some of the countries that did give military aid to Iraq also had important non-military trade with it, including Italy and France (7% for each) and the UK (6%).[128]

Generally, however, a country's position as Iraq's military supplier was not correlated to its trade in non-military goods. For example, in 1982, Iraq's civilian trade with the Soviet Union (which was still Baghdad's primary military supplier) accounted for less than one third of its trade with the United States (which did not give direct military aid to Iraq.)[129] The fact that Soviet-Iraqi trade was so low (relative to Iraqi trade with other countries) was the result of both the Baathists' policies of diversification as well as of Soviet attempts to improve its relationship with Iran. As pointed out in earlier chapters, the Kremlin's early diplomatic outreach to post-revolutionary Iran was ultimately rebuffed by the theocratic regime in Tehran. As Moscow began to come more firmly on the side of Iraq, trade relations between the two states did begin to increase, particularly after 1986.[130] Meanwhile, in 1987, Washington "signed a five-year economic and technical agreement [with Iraq], accompanied by $1 billion worth of food aid."[131] In 1988, Iraq began to sell oil to the United States at a discounted rate; between 1989 and 1990 it earned over $5.2 billion in oil sales to the United States.[132] As in the previous decade, therefore, the Baathist leadership continued its policy of economic diversification during the Iran-Iraq War and succeeded in separating the sources of its military imports from civilian imports.

[127] See SIPRI, *Iraqi Military Imports*, 1980-1990.
[128] Mofid, *Economics Consequences of the Gulf War*, 46.
[129] Chubin and Tripp, *Iran and Iraq at War*, 194.
[130] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 267.
[131] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 267.
[132] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 103.

INTERPRETATION OF EVIDENCE, 1968-1990

Recipient Socio-Economic Development

During the late 1970s, almost 40% of Baghdad's oil revenues were spent on purchasing expensive military equipment from abroad and 20% of the Iraqi labour force was employed by one of Iraq's security services: the police, the military, and the popular army.[133] By 1982, Iraq transformed from an economic development-focused economy to a war-time economy. During the Iran-Iraq War, Iraqi military expenditures accounted for anywhere between one-quarter and upwards of nearly one half of the country's GDP; meanwhile, arms imports amounted to roughly one half of Iraq's defence spending during those years.[134] The high levels of defence spending and military imports could not be directly correlated to negative economic growth in the case of Iraq. During the 1970s, for example, Iraqi military imports rose in tandem with increasing oil revenues and, for the most part, did not interfere with Iraq's economic development; arguably, by stimulating the growth of domestic heavy industries it contributed to economic growth. In fact, through the numerous national development plans described above, the Iraqi government expanded considerable government resources on socio-economic development programs during the decade. Undoubtedly, Iraq's economy had significant structural problems during these years, which according to Alnasrawi included "labour shortages, stagnant agriculture, rising urban population, persistent inflation, rising dependence on foreign consumer goods (especially foodstuffs), and rising dependence on oil."[135] At the same time, Iraq also "witnessed an unprecedented high rate of growth in oil output, oil revenue, national income, per capita income, industrial growth, construction, and public and private consumption [and] the accumulation of

[133] Colgan, *Petro-Aggression*, 104.
[134] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy,* 130.
[135] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 80.

nearly $40 billion of foreign exchange [by 1980.]"[136] These economic factors improved as a result of Baathist policies, which included the privatisation of some state-owned entities and investment in large-scale industrialisation programs.[137]

While in public Baathist leaders often argued that the Iran-Iraq War was "imposed" on Iraq by outside forces who wanted "to halt the development process in Iraq,"[138] in private Baathist leaders believed that the war could mobilise – or "awaken" as the Baathist regime often called it – the society and economy of Iraq and the entire Arab world.[139] The Baathist vision for the growth of Iraq's economy and society was not fully realised during the Iran-Iraq War. Unable to export as much of its oil in order to independently finance military imports as before, Iraq became reliant on loans from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, the Soviet Union, as well as west European countries (most prominently France), and the United States. External assistance during the 1980s was essential for Iraq being able to maintain the GDP growth that it had during the 1970s. As the graph below shows, even though the GDP of Iraq, Syria, and Egypt (the three main contenders for pan-Arab leadership) started at relatively the same level in 1968, Iraq's GDP increased at a much faster rate than Syria's or Egypt's, even though Iraq was a larger importer of foreign military aid than both countries. This was true even during the 1980s when Iraq was unable to export most of its oil.

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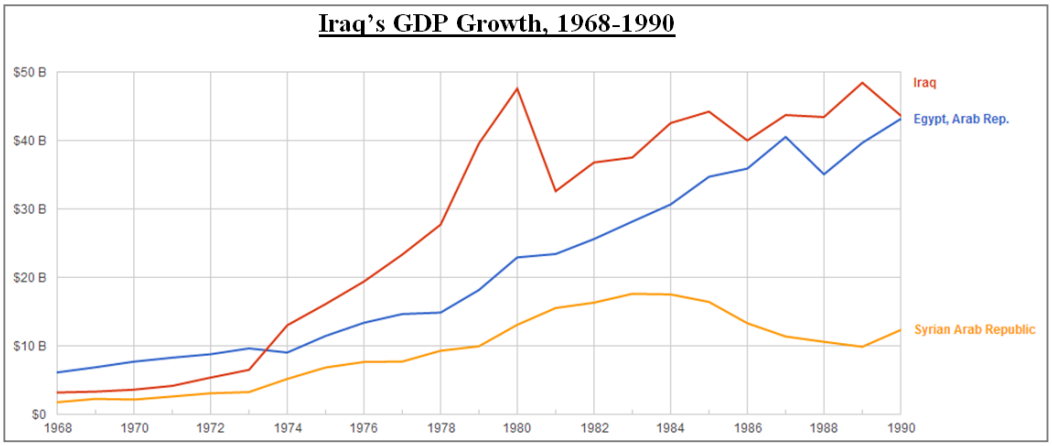
[136] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 80.
[137] Kamil Mahdi, a scholar of the Iraqi economy, has argued that Iraq failed to transition into a market economy during 1980s in part because privatization measures were adopted in the "most politically difficult times for the Ba'th regime," most notably the Iran-Iraq War. See Mahdi, "Iraq's Economic Reforms In Perspective," 226.
[138] FBIS-MEA-80-251, 1980. During conflict, Iraqi leaders normally blamed Iran for starting the Iran-Iraq War. This belief continued for decades even after the war ended. For example, when FBI interrogators asked a captured Hussein in February 2004 what was his objective in going to war, he replied, "Ask Iran. They began the war." See U.S. Department of Justice, "FBI Interrogation with Hussein," Interview Session Number 2 (February 8, 2004.)
[139] See, for example, SH-SHTP-A-000-627, 1983- 1984. Chapter three also discusses this in greater detail.



Source: *World Bank*, 2014.

Undoubtedly, the Iran-Iraq War impeded some of the Baathist government's more ambitious development programs. By the early-to-mid-1980s, Iraqi leaders had halted numerous projects as a result of various factors, including the "exhaustion of Iraq's owned foreign reserves… high inflation rates… labour shortages, curtailment of investment spending, rise in food dependency… [and] rise in foreign indebtedness."[140] Iraq's indebtedness and inflation were particularly worrisome. Colgan estimates that Iraq's war debt amounted to at least $130 billion[141] and that the war represented a loss of an estimated 4.1 billion barrels of oil over the course of eight years of fighting, amounting to some $230 billion.[142] Iraq's GDP at the end of the war was slightly lower than it was at the start of the war; it rose in 1989, but declined again in 1990.[143] A key problem was high foreign debt: Iraq's post-war oil revenues, $13 billion, were not enough to cover public expenditures: civilian imports stood at $12 billion; military imports amounted to over $5 billion; and debt repayments cost at least $5 billion per year.[144] With international bankers less comfortable about providing Baghdad with more credit, Iraq's

[140] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 88.
[141] Colgan, *Petro-Aggression*, 113.
[142] Colgan, *Petro-Aggression*, 121; World Bank, *Iraq's GDP*, 1980-1990.
[143] Woods, *The Mother of All Battles*, 41.
[144] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 202

economy stagnated during the late 1980s, while inflation reached over 60 percent in late 1989 and roughly 45% in 1990.[145] By 2003, Iraq still owed around $60-65 billion to its Gulf neighbors and almost $40 billion to Western countries, with most of this debt coming from the expenditures incurred during the 1980s.[146]

Nevertheless, during the Iran-Iraq War itself, while Iraqi per capita income decline after 1980, it still remained higher than pre-1978 levels.[147] Furthermore, by the late 1980s Iraq's per capita income had begun to exceed Iran's GDP per capita, as well as other Arab countries such as Egypt, Syria, and Morocco, as the chart below shows.[148] In terms of economic output, it is worth noting that Iraq was not the only oil-exporting country in the Arab world to have endured relative economic stagnation during the decade. Oil revenues for all Arab states in 1987 were $74.5 billion, or roughly a third of their 1980 level ($209.5 billion) due to declining oil prices and lower volumes of exports.[149]

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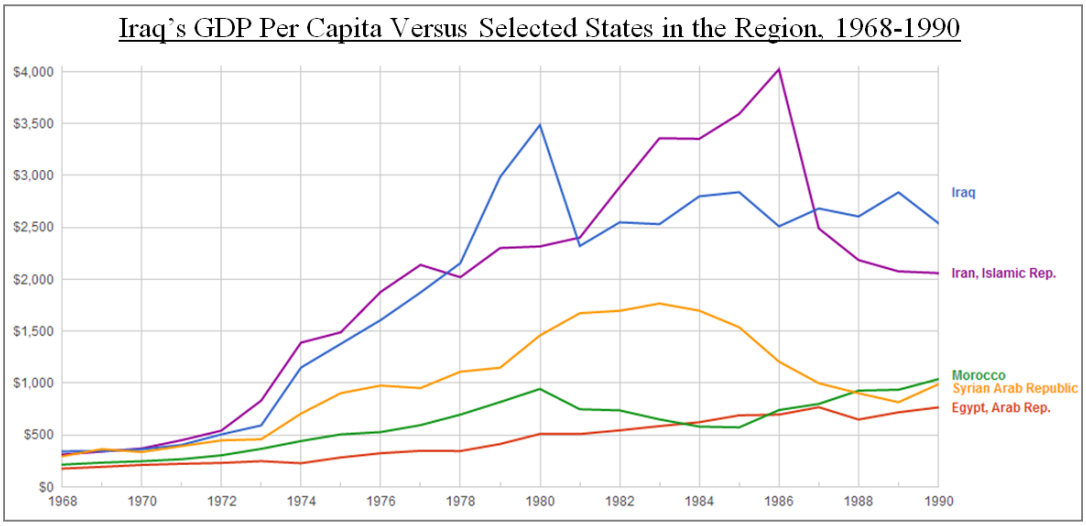
[145] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 278; Chaudhry, "On the Way to the Market," 17.
[146] After the 2003 Gulf War, Western states wrote off four-fifths of Iraq's debt to them, while private commercial creditors (which were owed $15 billion) wrote off roughly 82.3 percent of the debt the Iraqi government owed to them. For years, Kuwait and Saudi Arabia refused to write off the 1980s-era loans and the interest that accumulated on them. See Bessma Momani and Aidan Garrib, "Iraq's Tangled Web of Debt Restructuring," 156 in Mokhtar Lamani and Bessma Momani (editors), *From Desolation to Reconstruction: Iraq's Troubled Journey*, Canada: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010; Ali Merza, "Reconstruction of Iraq: Debt, Construction Boom, and Economic Diversification," *Middle East Economy Survey* (July 12, 2004) < http://iraqieconomists.net/eng/wp-content/uploads/sites/7/2013/02/Merza_Reconstruction_of_Iraq_2004.pdf >; and Ali Merza, "Iraq: Reconstruction Under Uncertainty," *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, Vol. 1, No. 2 (2007), 174.
[147] *World Bank*: GDP data for Iraq, Iran, Morocco, Syria, Egypt, 1968-1990.
[148] *World Bank*. GDP data for Iraq, Iran, Morocco, Syria, Egypt, 1968-1990.
[149] Roger Owen, "Inter-Arab Economic Relations During the Twentieth Century: World Market vs. Regional Market," in Michael Hudson (editor), *The Middle East Dilemma: The Politics and Economics of Arab Integration* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 238.



Source: *World Bank*, 2014.

An unforeseen positive side-effect of the war on Iraq's economy was the expansion of the private sector. In 1982, the Iraqi government passed Law 113, which provided "substantial investment incentives in the form of tax concessions and low interest loans to private and mixed industrial firms."[150] The involvement of the private sector in Iraq's economy was a marked change in the historic role of the Iraqi government in driving growth. According to Marion Farouk-Sluglett and Peter Sluglett, "the encouragement of larger firms [in the 1980s] meant that private capital was able to move into relatively big business, formerly the sole preserve of the state sector."[151] Furthermore, during the Iran-Iraq War, the Baathist regime's investment in building an indigenous military industry also filtered to the general state of industrialisation in Iraq, a subject discussed in greater detail in the previous chapter. Finally, the Baathist regime also continued to invest significant resources in building the human capital of Iraqi society. As Hoyt points out, by 1990 "Iraq had the most educated workforce in the Arab World" and its literacy rate was "unusually high for an Arab state."[152]

[150] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 265.
[151] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 265.
[152] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 123.

Supplier Export Dependence

During the period between 1968 and 1990, SIPRI ranks Iraq as the second-largest arms recipient in the world,[153] with imports of conventional and unconventional weapons amounting to some $65 billion (2011 figures) in the 1980s alone.[154] As Catrina points out, rarely can a recipient generate such supplier dependence whereby a recipient's decision to stop military purchases would have ruinous impacts on the supplier's defence industry.[155] Nevertheless, although the Baathist leadership was unable to generate export dependence with large military suppliers (i.e. the superpowers), it was able to create some degree of dependence with medium and small-sized military supplier, such as France and Brazil. Vis-à-vis France, during the 1970s and especially during the 1980s a number of key defence companies, such as *Dassault* and *Aerospatiale*, relied on Iraqi purchases to keep some segments of their production open. In total, Iraq accounted for roughly 40% of all French arms exports during the early 1980s.[156] Iraq was also the largest foreign customer of Brazilian arms during the 1980s. For both countries, the export of arms was key to maintaining their domestic military industry alive. By maintaining close relationships with those countries and purchasing arms on a consistent basis, over time Iraq was able to reap some rewards, which included a greater willingness by medium-sized powers to supply Baghdad with arms through loan programs, to provide better weapons, and to give aid (often covertly) to the Baathist regime's unconventional weapons program.

[153] SIPRI, "TIV of arms imports to the top 50 largest importers, 1968-1990," (Data generated: 24 July 2013.)
[154] Feinstein, *The Shadow World*, 398.
[155] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 248.
[156] Jentleson, *With Friends Like These*, 45.

Recipient-Supplier Trade Relations

In the case of Iraq there is little empirical evidence to support conventional thinking that a supplier's position as a dominant military supplier allows it to exert any type of influence over the recipient in the economic realm. In fact, one of the key aspects of the aforementioned five-year national development plan, which was adopted in 1970, was to expand and diversify Iraqi exports.[157] As Smolansky writes, during the 1970s "one of the cardinal features of the Baath's political and economic policies… was the determination to avoid too deep an entanglement with any one state or a group of states… by diversifying its markets as well as its sources of assistance and support."[158] Throughout most of the decade, while the Soviet Union and Socialist-bloc countries provided most of Baghdad's military imports, the majority of Iraq's non-military trade was with non-military supplier states, such as Japan and the United States. Iraq's economic diversification policy continued into the 1980s, as described above. Writing about Baghdad's relationship with the various trade partners it had during the Iran-Iraq War, Chubin and Tripp observe that:

> Paradoxically, although Iraq had become more dependent than ever before on outside [economic and military] assistance, it was dependent on such a range of powers for so many resources and its plight seemed so desperate, that Saddam Hussein had won considerable independence of action. He could thus afford to play one anxious backer off against another, confident in the knowledge that they regarded his mere survival, rather than any particular policy he might pursue, as an asset in itself.[159]

Archival evidence in the SHC suggests that the Baathist regime did not believe that it "owed" other countries special favours or loyalty for their military or economic aid. For example, in an internal meeting with Hussein, Aziz, and other Iraqi officials in October 1981, a

[157] Alnasrawi, *The Economy of Iraq*, 63.
[158] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 49.
[159] Chubin and Tripp, *Iran and Iraq at War*, 194.

statement by a Baathist official symbolises how at least some Baath Party members viewed Iraqi-Soviet relations:

> They [the Soviets] are giving us weapons and we pay them for it in cash and gold and projects… They are giving us weapons equivalent to what we give them as projects in Iraq. When [a Soviet military delegation] came to Iraq… they met with comrade Saddam, comrade Taha and comrade Al-Rifai and told them that this list of weapons is equivalent to this many [economic] projects. He then went to Izzat Ibrahim and took with him a list of projects and a list of weapons and said this list of weapons is equivalent to this list of projects. *This means that the economic relationship is well-balanced*.[160]

Of course, from a Soviet standpoint, this was not the case. During the 1980s, Soviet military aid was much more important to the Iraqis than any "cash, gold, and economic projects" that Baghdad could offer the Kremlin, especially since Iraq was engaged in a full-scale war. One would have expected that Iraqi leaders would recognise their dependence on Moscow. As Catrina notes, "When the recipient gets more benefits out of arms transfers than the supplier, the latter can expect that the difference will partially or fully be compensated for by recipient concessions outside arms transfers."[161] However, Baathist leaders did not view their relationship on Soviet military aid as resulting in any kind of dependence; in fact, they thought that they had a "well-balanced" relationship with the Kremlin. Consequently, Soviet military aid to Iraq during this period did not engender any particular kind of loyalty that resulted in trade or economic cooperation relations more than it did with Iraq's non-military partners. In fact, during most of the 1970s and 1980s, the United States and other European countries accounted for a larger share of Iraq's trade than the Soviet Union or Socialist bloc states, even though the latter gave more military aid to Baghdad.

[160] Al-Rifai was an Iraqi Minister for Oil, Planning, Housing, Communications and Transportation. Izzat Ibrahim was an Iraqi military commander who later became Vice President and Deputy Chairman of the RCC. SH-SHTP-A-000-711, 1981. Emphasis added.
[161] Catrina, *Arms Transfers and Dependence*, 165.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter has argued that the economic dimension of Iraqi military aid policy during the 1970s stands in contrast to three assumptions in current literature on arms transfers regarding recipient behaviour. Although Iraq was the second largest importer of foreign arms in this period (and the highest arms importer during the 1980s), in both decades the Iraqi economy experienced substantial economic growth and socio-economic development. Additionally, although defence dependence theory predicts a strong correlation between security cooperation and economic trade relations between a military supplier and a recipient, the majority of Iraq's civilian imports and exports during these decades came from non-military supplier states. Finally, although defence dependence argues that a recipient is very unlikely to generate supplier dependence, Iraq was able to engender some level of supplier dependence with a number of medium-sized military suppliers.

CHAPTER SEVEN: THE MILITARY IMPACT OF SECURITY COOPERATION

A number of books and journal articles on Baathist-era Iraqi military decision-making, planning, operations, and effectiveness on the battlefield have been published in recent years based on new archival information from the SHC.[1] Some of the findings contained in these publications stand in contrast to previous literature on the Iraqi armed forces, as pointed out in the introductory chapter. This chapter focuses on the elements of Iraqi military power which directly pertain to security cooperation. The first section within each part looks at the impact of arms imports on Iraqi military effectiveness and interoperability. The second section looks at the impact of arms transfers on Iraqi civil-military relations. The chapter argues that, although Baghdad's primary supplier during this time period was the Soviet Union, the Iraqi armed forces adopted a diverse body of military literature and thought in terms of its doctrine, planning, and operations. In particular, it relied on American, British, Egyptian, French, Indian, and Soviet sources to create its own uniquely Iraqi military doctrine. In addition, while adopting a Soviet model of civil-

[1] Examples include Talmadge, "The Puzzle of Personalist Performance," 180-221; Kevin Woods, Williamson Murray, and Thomas Holaday with Mounir Elkhamri, *Saddam's War: an Iraqi Military Perspective of the Iran-Iraq War* (National Defense University, Washington, DC: 2009); Woods, et al, *Saddam's Generals*; and Brands, "Saddam Hussein, the United States, and the invasion of Iran."

military relations during the 1970s (i.e. a loyalist military designed to protect "the Party"), by the late 1980s Baghdad largely dropped this model and allowed the Iraqi armed forces to develop into a professional fighting force.

PART I: 1968-1980

1. Military Effectiveness and Interoperability

Up until the late 1960s, the Iraqi armed forces were primarily equipped and trained by and modelled after the British armed forces.[2] Between 1958 and 1968, Baghdad begun to shift its external orientation gradually from the West to the East, but still relied on much of its military equipment and training from the British and American armed forces. Former Iraqi Major General Khammas, who was the commander of the Iraqi Armour School in 1970 and later in the decade became the Vice President of Bakr University for Higher Military Studies, stated in a 2009 interview that,

> When I was at military college [during the late 1950s], we studied how best to defend Iraq against aggression from the Soviet Union based on the Baghdad Pact plans signed in 1956 between Iraq, Iran, Pakistan, [Turkey], and the United Kingdom. The pact represented a contingency plan in the event that Soviet forces came through Iran to attack Iraq's oilfields. It assumed the Soviets would pass through the Bytaq and Dezful Passes. The plan called for closing these two passes to prevent hostile forces entering Iraq from the east. This plan should have helped inform our plans, when the Iraqi Army attacked Iran [in 1980.][3]

During both the 1970s and 1980s, Khammas played a key role in developing Iraqi military doctrine. When the Baath Party embarked on closer security cooperation with the Soviet Union in the early 1970s, Khammas and other Iraqi military officers objected to the attempt to switch from a Western military doctrine to a Soviet one. For example, in an interview

[2] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 13-76.
[3] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 128-129.

in November 2009, Raad Majid Rashid al-Hamdani, a former Iraqi Lieutenant General who served in the Iraqi Regular Army and Republic Guard between 1970 and 2003, stated that at the beginning of the early 1970s the primary "source of our [military] education was British."[4] By the mid-1970s, however, there was pressure from the Baathist leadership to change the Iraqi military structure. According to Hamdani, "in 1976, the [Baathist] political command [i.e. the Baath Party] wanted the Iraqi military to reject British military culture and move closer to Soviet military culture; military commanders disagreed."[5]

Such disagreements arose because many of Iraq's top military officers, who had received their military education in American or British academies during the 1950s and 1960s, found Western military thinking to be superior to Soviet doctrine. This is reflected in the aforementioned 2009 interview with former General al-Hamdani, who graduated from the Iraqi Military College in Baghdad in 1970 with a BA in military science. During the 1970s Hamdani served in a number of armour units, participated in the October 1973 War, and then served as an instructor at the Iraqi armour school and Iraqi tactical school between 1977 and 1980.[6] Hamdani mentions that during the early 1970s, he attended a meeting to discuss foreign armies as part of his military training. In his account, "there was a general feeling [amongst the Iraqi attendees] that the British Army was better than the US Army."[7] During the meeting, General Tariq Tawfiq, a commander of Iraq's 8th Mechanised Brigade in the early 1970s who served as a role model to Hamdani, mentioned that "he had once attend a training course in the United States and was impressed by the discipline of American soldiers. Because most of us followed the British

[4] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 45.
[5] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 44-45.
[6] Woods et al, *Saddam's Generals*, 29.
[7] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 44.

military method, we quietly called him 'General Tariq Tawfiq, the American.'"[8] Hamdani mentions that he was reading Western military literature during that time, including the memoirs of Field Marshal Bernard Montgomery.[9] Similarly, in interviews with other officers who either entered the Iraqi armed forces during this period or served in senior ranks, the attitude was often the same: Western equipment, training, and military doctrine was superior to that of the Soviet Union, which was becoming Iraq's military supplier during the 1970s.[10] In addition to objections by Iraqi military commanders, the Baath Party's initial aim of adopting Soviet military doctrine was also hampered by its own fears over foreign subversive activities. As Al-Marashi and Salama observe, at various points during the 1970s,

> The [Baath Party's] paranoia became all pervasive where officers' interaction with foreign contacts was severely circumscribed to the point where they were discouraged from studying in the USSR for fear they would become communist agitators upon their return.[11]

Given the pushback by Iraqi officers against adopting Soviet military techniques as well as the Baath Party's fear of Communist infiltration of the Iraqi armed forces, it seems that by the mid-to-late 1970s the Baath Party had begun to adopt a slightly different strategy than completely transforming Iraqi military doctrine. During the latter half of the 1970s the Baathist leadership pressed Iraqi military officers to generate a uniquely Iraqi perspective on military doctrine. This guidance was expressed at a 1977 meeting with Strategic Planning Committee, in which Hussein told political and military officials that Iraq "must plan to shy away from imitation methods" because copying the "policies, directions, [and] methods" of the great powers "would create or increase the gap between [Iraq] and those advanced countries."[12] As discussed

[8] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 44.
[9] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 44.
[10] Author's interview with former Iraqi Air Force Major General Falah Hassan (January 17, 2014). See also interview with former Iraqi Major General 'Alwan al-Abousi, *Saddam's Generals*, 185-215.
[11] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 119.
[12] SH-RVCC-D-000-805, 1977.

below, during the 1980s Iraqi officers continued to study the military doctrine of all countries, including their enemies, and adapted them to fit their own particular circumstances and generate a uniquely Iraqi military doctrine.

2. Civil-Military Relations

One area in which Iraq did seem to follow in the footsteps of its primary military supplier (i.e. the USSR) during the late 1960s and early 1970s was in the area of civil-military relations. Following the 1968 coup, the Baath Party quickly embarked on a "Baathification" program of the Iraqi armed forces, which in the preceding years were often involved in the overthrow of political regimes. The result was that an estimated 3,000 Baathists were given a military rank by the end of 1970 even though they had no previous military training or experience.[13] Throughout the rest of the decade, such Baathist political officers formed an "informal parallel chain of command that led to the [Baath] Party [as] opposed to the formal military hierarchy."[14] As Al-Marashi and Salama write,

> Baathist political officers, analogous to the Soviet commissars, were stationed anywhere from corps headquarters to detachments on the front line, ensuring that officers 'worked according to the principles' of the Baath Party... These Baathist minders, as an extension of the political centre, emanated tarhib, projected fear and served [as] a reminder that [the Baath Party] could watch the officers at all times.[15]

The phenomenon of "Baathist commissars" acting within the structures of the Iraqi armed forces during the 1970s is confirmed by former Iraqi General al-Hamdani, who entered the military at that time. According to Hamdani,

[13] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 114.
[14] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 114.
[15] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 148.

> [During the 1970s,] Saddam was strongly influenced by Soviet doctrine, which led to many of the changes instituted. Baathist ideology is an Arabic version of Marxist ideology. This is why Saddam thought that political leaders could run the military… The idea of having [Baathist] political officers in our army was a Soviet phenomenon that Saddam introduced into the army. Saddam also wanted to replicate Soviet political guidance. These ideas all proved misguided and failed.[16]

While al-Hamdani is incorrect in asserting that Baathism is simply the Arabic version of Marxism, the idea of having Baath Party political officers was in fact borrowed from the Soviet model of placing political "commissars" within the armed forces to ensure loyalty to the Communist party. In addition, the Iraqi government also created the Military Bureaus, which existed in every military unit, were accountable to the Baath Party Secretariat, and operated in parallel to the professional military command structure.[17] Similar to the Main Political Administration in the Soviet Armed Forces, the Baathist Military Bureau

> Scrutinised the armed forces in addition to developing strategies of ideological indoctrination. Political guidance commissars were delegated this responsibility, as well as serving as an internal source of surveillance for the Party. These Party loyalists in the military would watch over ammunition storage facilities as well as monitor all air bases to prevent coup attempts... The Bureau watched over officers and suggested their promotion based on their political loyalty, and withheld advancement from other officers who failed to demonstrate the requisite fealty to the Baath.[18]

Consequently, borrowing on the Soviet model, the Baathist regime during the 1970s added a layer of institutionalised political appointments which were based on affiliation with the Baath Party. On the positive side, this system prevented the types of military coups that plagued nearly every Iraqi government in previous decades.[19] On the negative side, it resulted in the creation of an armed forces based more on political loyalty than military professionalism. During the following decade, this system put Iraq in peril and was soon replaced by a more Western outlook on civil-military relations, as described in the next section.

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[16] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 44-45.
[17] Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 130-131.
[18] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 114.
[19] Although the system survived, there were assassination plots on senior Baathist officials during this period. See, for example, SH-IDGS-D-000-808, "Memorandum from the General Security Directorate to the Iraqi Intelligence Service regarding an attempt to assassinate Saddam Hussein and the vice president," June 1977 to September 1977.

PART II: 1980-1990

1. Military Effectiveness and Interoperability

Supplier Influence on Iraqi Military Doctrine

Defence dependence theory leads to two inter-related conclusions which are inadequate in explaining the impact of arms imports on the Iraqi armed forces during the 1980s. The first idea is that a recipient state, by virtue of it being a developing country, does not generate its own independent military doctrine. A corollary to that idea is that the recipient state simply copies the military thinking of its primary arms supplier, a notion which is expressed in some literature on the Iraqi armed forces. For example, in *The Longest War: the Iran-Iraq Military Conflict* (one of the most often-cited books on the Iran-Iraq War), Dilip Hiro writes that "Iraq's military, reared on the Soviet doctrine of massive [and] static defence, was ill-trained to mount combined arms offensives."[20] Similarly, examining the impact of Soviet security assistance on Iraqi Air Force's organization during the Iran-Iraq War, Douglas Kupersmith writes that

> One prominent feature of the IQAF organization was its resemblance to the Soviet air force. This should not be surprising, considering the close relationship between the two countries in the early 1970s and Iraq's reliance on the Soviet-client relationship. The division of the country into military districts and the basic composition of individual units closely follow the model set forth by the sponsor country to its protege.[21]

As this chapter shows, this narrative is only partially true. For example, the IQAF's strategic shelter program (described above), which was built by NATO-member countries, was based on NATO military doctrine. Furthermore, a close examination of the SHC reveals that Soviet influence on Iraqi military doctrine and effectiveness was much less limited than one would expect given Moscow's position as Iraq's primary military supplier. For example, one of

[20] Hiro, *The Longest War: the Iran-Iraq Military Conflict*, 48.
[21] Douglas Kupersmith, *The Failure of Third World Air Power: Iraq and the War with Iran* (Air University Press, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: 1993), 3-4.

the documents that is available at the SHC is the *Iraqi Military Journal*, an Iraqi military publication which started in the early 1980s and which is described as a "quarterly military journal issued by the Iraqi Ministry of Defence – Training Bureau, Combat Development Directorate (CDD), which is dedicated to strategic, operational, and tactical military research and studies."[22] A number of aspects stand out about the journal. If the Iraqi military simply borrowed Soviet techniques, this should be reflected in the journal. However, references to Soviet military literature are very rare. One of the only Iraqi articles which cites a Soviet military source is entitled "Accuracy in the Transmission of Information," written by Iraqi Staff Brigadier General Ihsan Qasim, in which there is one footnote that cites a Soviet military publication.[23] Besides this singular reference to a Soviet source, none of the remaining articles seem to cite Soviet military sources. In fact, the majority of the articles cite American or British publications or Arab and Iraqi military literature. For example, in an article entitled "About Military Leadership," the article's author, Iraqi Staff Major General Aladdin Hussein Makki Khammas (whose role in developing Iraqi military doctrine is described in further detail below), provides British Field Marshal Montgomery's definition of "command" as the first possible explanation of military leadership; his article then provides an alternative definition of command, given by American General Maxwell Taylor; no Soviet views on military leadership are referenced.[24]

Similarly, the first footnote in an article about military organisation by Staff Brigadier General Natiq Bahjat Namiq cites *Makers of Modern Strategy*, a compendium edited by Edward

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[22] SH-MODX-D-000-853, "A quarterly military journal by the Iraqi Ministry of Defense, Training Bureau, regarding strategic, operational, and tactical military research and studies," July 1984.
[23] This footnote cites a book entitled *The Armed Forces in the Soviet States*, written by Soviet General Greshko. See Iraqi Staff Brigadier General Ihsan Qasim, "Accuracy in the Transmission of Information," *Iraqi Military Journal* in SH-MODX-D-000-853, 1984.
[24] Iraqi Staff Major General Aladdin Hussein Makki Khamas, "Commanders Innovate and Leaders Memorize: Exercise of Command in the Field," *Iraqi Military Journal* in SH-MODX-D-000-853, 1984.

Mead Earle, an American strategist and Princeton University Professor who served as a consultant to the U.S. government.[25] One of the later articles in the aforementioned journal, written by Colonel Abd-al-Ilah Mustafa al-Khazraji, is dedicated to examining the use of propaganda and psychological warfare. Here too the author cites almost entirely Western sources, including a U.S. Army Field Manual entitled *Psychological Operations*, an English-language textbook by K. J. Holsti entitled *International Politics: A Framework for Analysis* that was published in London, and a number of other articles and books about propaganda, advertising, and the use of linguistics for persuasion that are all either of American or British origin. In total, while Soviet sources do not appear in most of the articles in the Iraqi military journal, American and British authors (military and civilian) are frequently cited.[26]

Additionally, the articles that are available at the archive indicate that Iraqi military officers looked at the experiences not only of the Soviet armed forces, but of other militaries as well -- including the French, Israeli, and American armed forces -- to draw lessons for its own military strategy. For example, an article entitled "Defence in Strong Points" about the importance of military fortifications in combat, written by Staff Brigadier General Abd-al-Zuhrah Shikarah al-Maliki, cites Jordanian and Pakistani military manuals, as well as an American article, about the subject. Furthermore, in the same article the author examines the Bar-Lev Line built by Israel on the Suez Canal and military fortification built by the First Brigade of the Free French Army in North Africa during the Second World War.[27] Even though the Iraqi government viewed Israel as an "enemy state," the fact that Iraqi military officers

[25] Staff Brigadier General Natiq Bahjat Namiq, "An Examination of the Principles and Fundamentals of Organization and Reorganization in the Armed Forces," *Iraqi Military Journal* in SH-MODX-D-000-853, 1984.
[26] Colonel Abd-al-Ilah Mustafa al-Khazraji, "Propaganda: Its Concepts and Methods," *Iraqi Military Journal* in SH-MODX-D-000-853, 1984.
[27] Staff Brigadier General Abd-Al Zuhrah Shikarah al-Maliki, "Defence in Strong Points," *Iraqi Military Journal* in SH-MODX-D-000-853, 1984.

looked into the military experiences of the Israelis and the French in order to learn from them contradicts the notion that the Iraqi military was simply a protégé of the Soviet armed forces. In fact, the diversity of sources used seems to suggest that Iraqi military officers were influenced more by American and British sources rather than by Baghdad's primary military supplier, the Soviet Union.

Furthermore, most of the Iraqi military journal articles available at the archive are written by professional military personnel who had direct experiences in Iraqi conventional and irregular warfare and who received their training in a variety of Iraqi and foreign military academies. For example, one of the aforementioned authors, Major General Khammas, joined the Iraqi Army in 1958 and received his training at the British School of Infantry, the British Armour School, and the U.S. Army's Armour Centre.[28] In a sense, the fact that Khammas cites British sources in his article reflects the training that he received during the 1950s and 1960s.[29] Between 1981 and 1984 Khammas served as the chief of staff to the III Corps and between 1984 and 1988 was the director of the CDD, in which capacity he shaped Iraqi military doctrine. In a 2009 interview, Khammas states that,

> The CDD had many sections: one for education and military magazines, another for field manuals and pamphlets, another for translations, and another for doctrine development…. When I came to the directorate [in 1984], it was chaos. I found formal military manuals from Russia, America, and Egypt. There were contradictions among them. The officers in the CDD could not reconcile the differences. The first thing I did was publish a manual describing our military doctrine. All other manuals were then written in harmony with this main pamphlet. I collected concepts from many armies, but we leaned toward following American doctrine because we found it to be logical, detailed, and easy to apply.[30]

[28] Woods et al, *Saddam's Generals*, 111.
[29] During the mid-1950s, and even through the 1960s, both the United Kingdom and the United States had significant military training missions in Iraq, taught Iraqi military officers in their academies, and were important suppliers to the Iraqi armed forces.
[30] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 133-134. Emphasis added.

In addition to writing articles for various Iraqi military journals, as the director of Iraqi combat development between 1984 and 1988 General Khammas sought to reform and re-organise Iraqi military thought and strategy into a variety of categories: "I emphasised the operational level of war as part of the curriculum. Before my time in office, the army did not recognise the operational level of war. Similar to the British, [during the 1970s] we recognised only the strategic and tactical level."[31] The adoption of the operational level of war by the Iraqi armed forces during the 1980s is explained by Khammas in the following terms:

> [During the mid-1980s] we… encouraged a return to foreign military education. The Iraqi military sent a number of officers abroad to India, America, Russia, and so on, to take courses on the operational level of military thought. We imported Russian and Egyptian books on the topic. Unofficially, we read histories on German operations during World War II…. The Germans had used the term 'operational level' during World War II… However, the most important books were American and British [since] the British had adopted the operational level [during the 1980s.][32]

Khammas argues that his study of operational art had an impact on Iraqi military successes during the late 1980s.[33] In particular, Khammas notes that General Nizar al-Khazraji, who served as the head of the Iraqi Army's first corps (1984-1988) and the Army's chief of staff in 1988, adopted Khammas' concept of operational art and used it successfully during the final operations at the end of the Iran-Iraq War. Khammas further argues that all of the branches of the armed forces successfully applied his concept of the operational level of war during the late 1980s, although he notes that each branch of the service "planned for itself. There was no joint planning."[34] (As will be seen further below, there was coordination between the different branches of the Iraqi military on the tactical and operational levels.)

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[31] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 135.
[32] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 136.
[33] The addition of the 'operational level' of warfare in Iraqi military doctrine during the 1980s can be seen in the tagline of the aforementioned *Iraqi Military Journal*, which notes that the magazine is "dedicated to strategic, operational, and tactical military research."
[34] See interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 136.

Amongst the various publications of the CDD was the aforementioned *Iraqi Military Journal*. Given the Baathist regime's reputation for being a secretive and reclusive regime (especially during the 1990s), one would expect that the aforementioned Iraqi military journal would exhibit elements of "narrow-mindedness" or "lack of creativity." However, one aspect of Iraqi military thought during the 1980s is that, in addition to citing diverse foreign sources, Iraqi military journals often referenced internally-generated Iraqi military doctrine. For example, in the aforementioned article, General Khammas cites a number of independent Iraqi military doctrine manuals: *Manual of the Development of Innovation in the Army* (written by Iraqi Staff Major General Abd-al-Rahim Taha al-Ahmad), *Manual of Heart and Soul Command* (written by Staff Lt. General Ismail Tayah al-Nuyami), and *Manual of Command*, Official Manual No. 322, a military manual issued Iraqi Ministry of Defence in 1973.[35]

Furthermore, it is important to dispel the notion that Iraqi military leaders were simply protégés of the Soviets who "followed the model set forth by [their] sponsor."[36] The SHC contains a vast amount of independent Iraqi military literature on doctrine, strategy, warfare, and operational techniques. Some of the Iraqi military manuals available at the SHC include: *The Art of War: Manual on the Principles of the Use of Force*,[37] *Manual on Counterinsurgency Warfare,*[38] *Recovery and Repair [of Military Equipment] in Desert Areas,*[39] *Manual regarding standard operating procedures for battalions and battle groups,*[40] *General Administration*

[35] Iraqi Staff Major General Khammas. SH-MODX-D-000-853.
[36] Kupersmith, *The Failure of Third World Airpower*, 4.
[37] SH-IZAR-D-001-414, 1987.
[38] SH-IZAR-D-000-296, 1983
[39] SH-IZAR-D-000-414, Undated Manual.
[40] SH-IZAR-D-000-480, 1986

Manual, Unit Administration Guide in Peacetime,[41] *Command of Troops: Manual of the General Principles of Military Command,*[42] and *The Art of War, Manual: Training for War.*[43]

Supplier Influence on Iraqi Military Operations

Although on a political level the Baathist leadership had prepared for a limited invasion of Iran over a period of months, the Iraqi armed forces themselves were not necessarily prepared for what ultimately became the longest conventional war of the twentieth century. Consequently, the initial phase of the war proved to be a disaster for the Iraqi military, which up until that point had experience primarily in counterinsurgency operations.[44] Although achieving the element of surprise, most of the Iraqi airstrikes on Iranian air bases which began in September 1980 failed to hit their targets or establish air superiority. Furthermore, because the Iraqi military was pursuing limited objectives, in the initial campaign Iraqi forces attacked only military targets (i.e. major airbases in western Iran, airfields around Khuzestan in southern Iran),[45] but avoided bombing strategic roads, supply depots, and troop reinforcements.[46] The tepid Iraqi advance failed to deal the crippling blow that the Baathist political leadership was hoping for. On September 23, 1980 Iranian aircraft counterattacked, destroying dozens of Iraqi aircraft, damaging eight Iraqi airfields and oil installations, and establishing relative air superiority, all while losing only about 20 fighters out of a total of about 200 Iranian aircraft.[47]

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[41] SH-IZAR-D-000-598, 1988.
[42] SH-IZAR-D-001-416, 1976.
[43] SH-IZAR-D-001-417, 1989.
[44] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 124.
[45] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 185.
[46] Helms, *Iraq*, 166.
[47] Tom Cooper and Farzad Bishop, *Iran-Iraq War in the Air, 1980-1988* (Schiffer Military History, 2004), 78. Air defence was not a focus of the IQAF until later in the war, which could explain why the Iranian air force was able to establish air superiority relatively quickly. Author's interview with now retired Iraqi Air Force Major General Najim Abed Al-Jabouri (who served in the IQAF during the 1980s), November 2012.

According to Khammas, Iraq's surprise air strikes against Iran in September 1980 were meant to emulate Israel's pre-emptive strikes against the Arab forces in 1967.[48] In comparing the Israeli airstrikes against those of Iraq, Pollack states that Iraqi airstrikes in September 1980 were "pitiful," and points out that Israel was able to deliver several times the number of sorties in their attack.[49] Although correct, Pollack fails to mention that the Israeli airstrikes were conducted with Mirage fighters, which the IQAF did not possess at the start of the war. Retired IQAF Major General Abousi, who served as a commander of numerous squadrons, groups, and airbases during the 1980s, notes that after conducting tests comparing Sukhoi aircraft (the Soviet aircraft used by the Iraqis during the initial airstrikes) to Mirage fighters, "we [the IQAF] found that flying a Sukhoi for one sortie was equivalent to flying three Mirage sorties because the Sukhoi was so hard on your body."[50] Many Iraqi pilots who flew the Sukhoi complained about the heavy physical toll that each mission had. This may help explain, at least in part, why the IQAF was limited in the amount of sorties it delivered in the initial attacks. Partially as a result of these limitations, Iraqi forces were able to only penetrate at their deepest approximately 80 kilometres inside the Iranian border between September 22 and 28, 1980. Without sufficient reinforcements, they soon lost control of the towns they were told to occupy.[51]

Although the Iraqi military failed to achieve its initial aims (including establishing air superiority), it was able to capture some cities within Iran. Between 1980 and 1982, the Iranian armed forces mounted a counter-offensive aimed at recapturing these lost Iranian territories.[52] In 1981, after the Iranian military drove Iraqi troops from Abadan, Saddam Hussein called for a one

[48] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 129.
[49] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 185.
[50] Interview with Abousi, *Saddam's Generals*, 188.
[51] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 130-131.
[52] Cordesman and Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, 108-145.

month cease-fire to coincide with Ramadan; Tehran rejected the deal.[53] In March 1982, the Iranians launched a major offensive against Iraqi troops and in May regained Khorramshahr (held by Iraqis since October 1980).[54] By the summer of 1982, Iranian troops had not only captured most of the territories previously held by Iraq, but had also penetrated the outskirts of the strategic port city of Basra located in southern Iraq along the Iran-Iraq border.[55] According to some estimates, by the end of 1982 upwards of 100,000 Iraqi soldiers were left dead on the battlefield.[56] Between 1982 and 1984, Iraqi military operations transformed from offensive to primarily defensive manoeuvres in the same year.[57] Describing Iraq's defensive operations during the early 1980s, William Staudenmeier writes that "the most professional military operations conducted during the [early part of] the war [were] Iraqi defensive operations, which [were] patterned after Soviet doctrine."[58] However, Iraqi military planners who participated in these defensive operations actually argue that their military operations borrowed from Western, not Soviet, doctrine. Between 1981 and 1984, then Brigadier General Khammas served as the chief of staff of the III Corps, which was located in southern Iraq and participated in defensive operations against Iranian assaults on Basra. According to Khammas,

> After my appointment [as chief of staff to the III Corps of the Iraqi Army in 1981], I employed all the military staff techniques that I had taught once upon a time. The first thing I did was a plan of manoeuvre, which I learned in France (project de manoeuvre.) I asked the G2 for intelligence. Then, I wrote the plan of manoeuvre [and gave it] to the corps commander, who approved it. The next day I explained it to the divisional commanders and the staff officers. Thus, we were prepared for defensive operations against an Iranian attack [in 1982.][59]

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[53] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 259.
[54] For more on the fight in Abadan and Khorramshahr, see interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 130-135.
[55] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 260.
[56] Karsh and Rautsi, *Saddam Hussein*, 156
[57] Cordesman and Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, 146-189.
[58] William Staudenmeier, "Iran-Iraq (1980-)," in Robert Harkavy and Stephanie Neuman (editors), *The Lessons of Recent Wars in the Third World, Volume I: Approaches and Case Studies* (Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, c1985-c1987), 225.
[59] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 124-125. Emphasis added.

The quote above contradicts some of the previous accounts which argue that Iraqi defensive operations were modelled on Soviet doctrine. Beyond conducting defensive operations within Iraq, in 1982 and early 1983 the Iraqi military did not bomb oil-related facilities, raising questions about "Iraq's military objectives and its ability to achieve them."[60] After two major Iranian offensives in mid-to-late 1983, some estimates had reported that the human cost of the Iran-Iraq war up to that point had risen to around 175,000 people dead, 600,000 wounded, and more than $2 billion in material losses. Despite losses on the battlefield, the Iraqi armed forces benefited from a general expansion of its size largely due to foreign military aid. Between 1981 and 1982 Iraq was able to get over three times as many arms from abroad as Iran.[61] By 1982, France was Iraq's largest non-Soviet supplier of arms.[62] One of the key pieces of support that Paris gave Baghdad was access to air power capabilities: fighter aircraft, helicopters, and some of the most advanced missiles in the French arsenal. France delivered its first combat aircraft to Iraq in July 1981, and a few months later the first Iraqi Mirage squadron was formed.[63] While Bergquist writes that "the Iraqi military had enough problems conducting a war without introducing new systems that would only further tax its logistics base,"[64] retired Iraqi Air Force Major General Abousi notes that despite the new training that was needed, the introduction of French aircraft was a boon, not a burden, to the Iraqi air force: "Western aircraft are easier to fly… Compared to Soviet aircraft, [Mirages] were easy to fly [although] the targeting and navigation systems took time to master."[65] In fact, as

[60] Helms, *Iraq*, 167.
[61] Cordesman and Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, 156.
[62] Helms, *Iraq*, 177.
[63] Interview with Abousi, *Saddam's Generals*, 197.
[64] Ronald Bergquist, *The Role of Airpower in the Iran-Iraq War*, Air University Press, 1988, 40-41.
[65] Interview with Abousi, *Saddam's Generals*, 198.

Cordesman and Wagner note, the delivery of Mirage F-1s gave "Iraq increasing success in air-to-air combat [and] provided far better avionics for air-to-ground missions" than Soviet aircraft.[66]

After lifting the arms embargo in 1982, Moscow gave Iraq greater "access to Soviet T-72 tanks, replacement fighters, new surface-to-air missiles, and more artillery."[67] It also started to supply the more advanced MiG-25s to Iraq.[68] By 1982, therefore, the IQAF had a diversified list of capabilities in its inventory, including Mirage fighters (French), MiG-25s (Soviet), Sukhoi-25s (Soviet), B-6D aircraft (Chinese), and Silkworm missiles (Chinese.) Iraq also acquired *Super Frelon* helicopters and AM-39 Exocet missiles from France.[69] The delivery of modern airpower systems enhanced the Iraqi military's overall position by allowing it to penetrate deeper into Iran and strike distant strategic targets, including oil tankers and installations. In September 1983, France delivered the Super Etendard aircraft to Iraq, although these were not put to use until March 1984. As Abousi notes, early in the war, Iraqi aircraft "did not have electronic equipment that could detect or deal with missiles. Our mission success relied on visually identifying the target: a shelter, a runway, a taxiway, a tarmac."[70] However, as Abousi continues, "after 1982 the air force was transformed by the introduction of Mirages, MiG-25s, Sukhoi-25s, Chinese B-6Ds aircraft, and Silkworm anti-ship missiles."[71] Given that the Iranian strategic targets were normally located at a much greater distance from the Iraqi border than Iraqi strategic targets were from the Iranian border,[72] the improvement in air power capabilities allowed Iraq to hit much more significant targets and shift the balance of power in its favour.

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[66] Cordesman and Wagner, *The Lessons of Modern War,* 157.
[67] Cordesman and Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, 156.
[68] Interview with Abousi, *Saddam's Generals*, 197.
[69] Cordesman and Wagner, *The Lessons of Modern War,* 157.
[70] Interview with Abousi, *Saddam's Generals*, 192.
[71] Interview with Abousi, *Saddam's Generals*, 198.
[72] For example, the distance between the Iraqi border and Tehran is about four times that of the distance between the Iranian border and Baghdad.

In addition, Washington began to increase military and intelligence support to Baghdad in 1983, especially after pro-Iranian terrorist attacks targeted U.S. Marines stationed in Lebanon.[73] One area in which Washington struck a pro-Iraqi stance was in protecting oil tankers passing in the Gulf. The "tanker war" began in January 1984, with Iraq attacking neutral ships close to the Kharg Island and Iran responding in kind a few months later. The tanker war internationalised the conflict, which was what Iraqi government officials were hoping for from the start of the conflict.[74] Although Moscow officially adopted a neutral policy toward the tanker war in 1984, the Kremlin sided with Iraq, which was the country attacking most of the tankers in the Gulf. In addition, early in the same year, Iranian President Ali Khamenei warned that if the U.S. got involved in the war, Iran would cut off oil exports from the Gulf.

After Iran successfully captured the Faw Peninsula in 1986, nearby Kuwait put its forces on full alert and requested naval protection from both the Soviet Union and the United States in November 1986.[75] Moscow responded to Kuwait's requests first, dispatching naval assets to the Gulf to reflag Kuwaiti tankers.[76] In May 1987, Iranian gunboats attacked a Soviet cargo ship that was on its way to Kuwait; in the next month, a Soviet tanker hit a mine off Kuwait's coast. Partly in competition with the USSR, Reagan ordered the U.S. Navy to the Gulf in the spring of 1987 to provide protection to Kuwaiti tankers[77] and imposed more stringent sanctions on Iranian imports and banned fourteen categories of dual-use items to Iran.[78] In July 1987, the United States reflagged the first two Kuwaiti tankers under *Operation Earnest Will*.[79] By 1988, there

[73] Helms, *Iraq*, 178.
[74] Farouk-Sluglett and Sluglett, *Iraq Since 1958*, 261.
[75] Marion Farouk Sluglett and Peter Sluglett, "Iraq Since 1986: The Strengthening of Saddam," *Middle East Report 167* (November/December 1990).
[76] Pelletiere, Johnson, and Rosenberger, *Iraqi Power and U.S. Security in the Middle East*, 62.
[77] William Quandt, "America and the Middle East," in Brown (ed.), *Diplomacy in the Middle East*, 69.
[78] Resnick, "Strange Bedfellows," 164.
[79] Cordesman and Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, 295.

were 32 U.S. Navy ships in the Gulf, in addition were seven British vessels, making sure that Kuwaiti oil tankers were protected.[80] The presence of great powers (both Western and Soviet) in the Gulf, brought by the tanker war, helped Iraq's military position since the international presence protected the assets of Kuwait, which was allied with Baghdad.[81]

The Baathist regime also began to attack Iranian economic targets (including Iranian oil refineries, hydroelectric sites, and power stations) in retaliation for Tehran's strategy of crippling Iraqi oil exports and its economy. In the fall of 1986, the IQAF commenced attacks on Iranian refineries at Isfahan and oil loading terminals at the Sirri and Kharg Islands. In September 1987, Iraq launched a sustained air attack against Iranian economic targets, beginning with its attacks of the Tabriz oil refinery, which "wiped out one-quarter of Iran's internal oil supply in a single afternoon."[82] As the IQAF improved at mid-air refuelling, it was able to reach destinations considered previously too remote, such as the oil transfer facilities at Lavan and Larak islands. By the end of 1987, Iran's oil exports fell from 1.3 million barrels a day to 0.8 million barrels a day. In February 1988, Iraqi missiles hit an oil refinery in a Tehran suburb. In response, Tehran fired missiles into Baghdad, causing Iraq to launch the aforementioned *al-Husayn* rockets against Iranian targets. Iraqi scientists had modified the Scud-B missile, so that it had an effective range to reach Tehran, for the first time, by the last week of February 1988. In the first week of the 1988 "War of the Cities" (which lasted until April 20, 1988), 376 Iraqi missiles hit Tehran; only 19 rockets hit Baghdad. Targets reached by Iraqi missiles also included Isfahan and Qom, a holy city for Iraq's Shi'i community.[83]

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[80] Louis, "Britain and the Middle East after 1945," in Brown (ed.), *Diplomacy in the Middle East*, 54.
[81] For an Iraqi perspective on the presence of international forces in the Persian Gulf during the 1980s, see SH-SHTP-A-000-561, 1988.
[82] Pelletiere, Johnson, and Rosenberger, *Iraqi Power and U.S. Security in the Middle East*, 21.
[83] Pelletiere, Johnson, and Rosenberger, *Iraqi Power and U.S. Security in the Middle East*, 21-23.

On April 17, 1988, Iraq launched *Tawakalna ala Allah*, a military campaign which lasted for four months and resulted in the "absolute destruction of Iran's military machine."[84] The campaign included five major battles, in which Al-Faw, held by Iran since 1986, was recaptured. In the 1988 Al-Faw operation, the Iraqi force may have had upwards of 200,000 troops (primarily from the Iraqi Seventh Corps and the Republican Guard), with the IQAF and Iraqi Army helicopters providing air cover and support against an estimated 15,000 Iranian troops. Only a few hundred Iraqi troops were lost in the battle. In a top-level Iraqi meeting on April 18, 1988 (the day that Al-Faw was recaptured by Iraq), Aziz expressed hope that "if we [Iraqis] maintain our spirit of victory, it will bring in the Iranians acquiescing to a fair and clean peace."[85] In the next battle, Iraq was able to regain land around Basra, which Iran seized after a campaign that lasted took more than three weeks and caused 70,000 casualties; the Iraqi military recaptured it in seven hours. Three more major battles followed, in which Iraq was able to recapture the oil-rich Majnoon Island in a few hours, remove any Iranian threats to Baghdad, and move Iraqi troops 40 miles into Iran to Qasr-e Shermin. On July 18, 1988, Khomeini drank from the "poisoned chalice" and signed a truce with Baghdad that ended the war.[86] Pollack writes that that Iraqi military operations at the end of the war "demonstrated a higher degree of effectiveness than the Iraqi military had ever hinted at previously."[87]

The improvement of the Iraqi military in the second half of the war has raised the following question in some of the literature on the Iran-Iraq War: to what extent did foreign soldiers participate in support of Iraqi operations? The defence dependence view is that

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[84] Pelletiere, Johnson, and Rosenberger, *Iraqi Power and U.S. Security in the Middle East*, 25.
[85] Tariq Aziz quoted in SH-SHTP-A-000-857, "Saddam and Iraqi officials discussing the liberation of Al-Faw and Its Broader Implications," April 18, 1988.
[86] Pelletiere, Johnson, and Rosenberger, *Iraqi Power and U.S. Security in the Middle East*, 1.
[87] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 229-230.

developing countries are unable to handle sophisticated military equipment; consequently, dependence theorists would argue that the Iraqi military's success in using advanced military equipment means that foreign military instructors supported Iraqi military operations in the mid-and-late 1980s. This view is reflected in some of the literature on the Iran-Iraq War. For example, Cooper and Bishop argue that the IQAF's combat effectiveness improved as a result of the presence of foreign pilots. In their account, Egyptians reportedly flew MiG-21s and MiG-23s for the IQAF; Belgians, South Africans, Australians, and possibly one American flew Mirage F-1EQs in 1985-86; Soviet and East German pilots participated in MiG-25 operations; and French and Jordanian pilots acted as instructors and sometimes participated in combat missions.[88] Nevertheless, in interviews, retired IQAF General Abousi rejects these claims. Abousi does admit that "pilots from many countries participated in our *training*—India, Egypt, Pakistan, and Czechoslovakia."[89] Abousi stresses that foreign instructors did not participate in IQAF missions:

> When we received the Super Etendards aircraft, the French offered to fly with us in order to train our pilots, but we refused. Instead, we sent our pilots for one-month training in France. *No foreign pilots participated in our combat missions*.[90]

Abousi's sentiment is echoed in interviews with former Lieutenant General Abid Mohammed al-Kabi of the Iraqi Navy.[91] Al-Kabi graduated from the Iraqi military college in Baghdad in 1962 and joined the Iraqi Navy in 1964. During the late 1960s and early 1970s his foreign military training included courses in Egypt and India. Between 1982 and 1987 he served as the commander-in-chief of the Iraqi Navy. According to Al-Kabi, beginning in the early 1980s, the Iraqi Navy cooperated with the Iraqi Air Force in two important ones. The first was

[88] Cooper and Bishop, *Iran-Iraq War in the Air, 1980-1988*, 73.
[89] Interview with Abousi, *Saddam's Generals*, 209. Emphasis added.
[90] Interview with Abousi, *Saddam's Generals*, 209. Emphasis added.
[91] Iraqi Navy Lieutenant General is equivalent to the rank of Vice Admiral in the U.S. Navy.

in providing targeting information to the IQAF in its operations against economic and strategic targets in Iran.[92] According to Al-Kabi,

> During [the early 1980s], Iraq had received Mirage F-1 aircraft, which carried Exocet missiles. They [the IQAF] participated in attacking tankers, but depended on our [i.e. the Iraqi Navy's] detection systems. When we detected a target, we developed the attack plan, which estimated the future position of [Iranian] ships. Then the Mirage F-1 would attack it at its estimated position…. [We provided] targeting information [to the IQAF.][93]

Secondly, cooperation between the IQAF and the Iraqi Navy included the former providing air cover for some Iraqi naval operations. For example, in 1984 the IQAF provided air cover to the Iraqi Navy when it conducted "missile boat operations against [the] Kharg [Island.]"[94] When Al-Kabi was asked during an interview in 2009, "to what extent did the navy take advantage of non-Iraqi tactical advisors from other countries?" he replied that "no [foreign] advice was given to the navy during the war."[95] It is not unexpected that an Iraqi military officer would reject claims that foreign instructors participated in Iraqi operations. Nevertheless, analysis by various non-Arab sources also concluded that there was either limited or no foreign instructors participating in Iraqi military operations. For example, Pelletiere and Johnson write that "we have strong reasons for believing that [foreign military instructors'] advice was not critical or solicited [during the Iran-Iraq war]… [Furthermore,] we do not believe that any foreign mercenaries were employed by the Iraqis" in the final phase of the war.[96] Similarly, Pollack does not cite the presence of foreign instructors as a factor in the improvement of Iraqi military effectiveness during the 1980s.[97]

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[92] During the war, one of the primary functions of the IQAF was to attack oil targets in Iran, which included striking the Kharg Island, various oil facilities, and Iranian oil tankers. The IQAF was able to carry out roughly twice as many attacks on Iranian targets than did the Iranian air force between 1984 and 1986. See Cordesman and Wagner, *Lessons of Modern War*, 271-272.
[93] Interview with Al-Kabi, *Saddam's Generals*, 166.
[94] Interview with Al-Kabi, *Saddam's Generals*, 167.
[95] Interview with Al-Kabi, *Saddam's Generals*, 178.
[96] Pelletiere, Johnson, and Rosenberger, *Iraqi Power and U.S. Security in the Middle East*, 32.
[97] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 224-235.

2. Civil-Military Relations

At the start of the Iran-Iraq War, Baathist political officers "were stationed anywhere from corps headquarters to detachments on the front line."[98] Nevertheless, this seems to have begun to change during the mid-1980s. One of the first tasks that former General Khammas undertook as director of the Combat Development Directorate in 1984 was to create a strategic digest similar to the *Military Review* in the United States. In the first edition of this journal Khammas himself published an article on civil-military relations. Although the article itself is not available in the SHC, as Khammas relates in an interview in 2009, upon becoming the director of the CDD,

> I arranged to publish a strategic magazine. For the first issue, I wrote an article on politics and the army: why the armed forces in the West are not allowed to mix in politics, as opposed to why armed forces in totalitarian regimes, communist regimes, and one-party states end up interfering in politics. After I published the article, Saddam read it, was impressed, and sent me a Mercedes. I earned this because I had written something.[99]

In explaining why he published the article, Khammas notes that the idea of the separation between the civilian leadership and a professional military "is an important concept for a growing nation [i.e. Iraq] to understand. People must be educated to know this."[100] From Khammas' account, it seems that the article was only meant to stimulate debate on the ways that other countries look at civil-military relations rather than criticise the present state of civil-military relations in Iraq. However, the fact that Iraqi military officers were beginning to explore the topic of civil-military relations (and that they were rewarded for doing so) marked an important shift in the development of the Iraqi armed forces, which only a few years earlier accepted the Baathist system of civil-military relations out of loyalty, fear, or both. And the fact that such a debate was stimulated during the mid-1980s ultimately resulted in the Baathist

[98] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 148.
[99] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 134-135.
[100] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 135.

political leadership giving professional military officers more room for independent decision-making. For example, Khammas notes that during the 1980s Hussein "did not interfere much" in the work of the CDC, which developed Iraq's military doctrine during the Iran-Iraq War.[101]

The greater freedom that the Baathist civilian leadership allowed the Iraqi military to have during the 1980s is also reflected in the aforementioned military journal. Under a section entitled "Directives of the Editorial Board Regarding Publication and Writing in Military Journals," the editors note that "articles published in the journal reflect the opinion of their authors [and] do not reflect the official opinion [of the Ministry of Defence.]"[102] Undoubtedly, Iraqi military officers who submitted their journal articles were still subject to political pressure (and censorship). While Hussein may have not "interfered much," many of the articles in the *Iraqi Military Journal* are preceded by the slogans and aphorisms of "Field Marshal" or "President Commander Saddam Hussein," suggesting a possible indirect influence over the content of the journal by the Iraqi president.[103] Nevertheless, the fact that the journal's editorial board states that articles reflect only the opinion of the author and not an official position seems to suggest that there was more freedom for independent and original debate in Iraqi military thinking than has been suggested before. Furthermore, although the journal does not express a critique of the Baathist civilian leadership, the articles in the journal seem to lack any kind of one-sided, ideological outlook, suggesting that the influence of the Baath Party over the Iraqi military had declined during the 1980s.

[101] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 134.
[102] SH-MODX-D-000-853, 1984.
[103] SH-MODX-D-000-853, 1984.

The influence of Baathist "political officers" on Iraqi military operations also diminished during this period. One example is provided by Khammas, who related the following story about Iraqi General Al-Khazraji:

> Al-Khazraji kicked out [a] political officer out of a meeting [in around 1984], because he had spoken while Al-Khazraji was issuing orders. Al-Khazraji had exploded and told him, 'When I talk, you must stop and listen.' Then he told his political officer to get out. This action represented an insult to the [Baath] party. The [political] officer wanted al-Khazraji to be demoted or retired. Saddam had considered it, but had stopped short. Instead, Saddam transferred him to the CDC [where Khammas worked] about a month or two after I arrived. [Al-Khazraji] regained command of I Corps later [and ultimately] became chief of staff [of the Iraqi army.][104]

The story is indicative of the changes happening during the mid-1980s in Iraqi civil-military relationships. Firstly, it illustrates a greater willingness by Iraqi military officers to stand up against interference by Baathist political commissars in planning military operations. Secondly, it shows that, whereas during the 1970s the Baath Party may have executed Iraqi military officers who stood up against orders by a Baathist political officer, during the 1980s the Baathist civilian leadership would be more willing to overlook such transgressions. As Al-Marashi notes, during the mid-1980s, the Iraqi government "removed the political commissars who had been formerly assigned to all Iraqi units above battalion strength. Initiative on the battlefield was rewarded over political loyalty or blood relations to Hussein, and incompetent officers who were friends or relatives were purged."[105] Despite these changes, some Ba'th Party policies continued to hamper the institutional quality of the Iraqi armed forces. For example, candidates hoping to enter Iraq's military colleges during the 1980s were required to fill out forms in which their (and their families') political background were scrutinised by Iraq's various security organisations, most importantly by the Special Security Organisation. Joseph Sassoon points out that whereas applications to Iraqi military colleges was a generally "egalitarian"

[104] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 144.
[105] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 153.

process during the 1970s, in the subsequent decade any applicant who was not a "committed Baathist" was denied entrance to Iraq's military colleges.[106] Furthermore, all candidates at Iraqi military colleges had to go through Baathist "political guidance" sessions, while some officers continued to hide facts in military reports in order to placate the regime.[107] In addition, while some senior officers were promoted based on merit (see above), others such as Izzat Ibrahim al-Duri, who became the deputy commander in chief of the armed forces, and Taha Yasin Ramadan al-Jazrawi, who was in charge of the Popular Army, had previously never served in the Iraqi military.[108]

Another area where changes in civil-military relations had an impact on Iraqi military power was in Iraq's industrial-military complex. Hoyt writes that during the 1980s, "the Baath Party's firm control over the military severely limited the role of the armed forces in military-industrial and security policy."[109] As evidence for the statement above, Hoyt notes that the top three figures in Iraqi military-industrial policy were all civilians; however, while hinting that this was the case during the entire 1980s, his evidence only comes from the *early* 1980s.[110] Undoubtedly, some promotions within Iraq's military industry were loyalty rather than merit based. The most prominent example is that of Hussein Kamil, Saddam's son-in-law who was appointed head of the Military Industrial Commission in 1987.[111]

However, more recent evidence indicates that Baathist military professionals were in fact in top positions directing the development of Iraqi military industry. For example, former Iraqi Air Force General Abousi describes the case of Mohammed Jassim al-Jibouri, who served as the

[106] Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 134-135.
[107] Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 136-137.
[108] Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 138 and 146.
[109] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 117.
[110] Hoyt, *Military Industry and Regional Defense Policy*, 117.
[111] Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 139.

commander of the Iraqi air force between 1979 and 1984. As Abousi notes, al-Jibouri "was a British Hunter pilot and trained in America."[112] While commenting that some top IQAF commanders were not professionals, Abousi specifically notes that al-Jibouri was a "competent" commander of the IQAF.[113] Furthermore, according to Abousi, "In 1984, Saddam appointed [al-Jibouri] to the Military Industrialisation Commission (MIC) [and] told him, 'You need to make military industrialisation as good as the air force.'"[114] Up until the late 1980s, the MIC was a separate Iraqi ministry that was "charged with procuring, developing, and fielding weapons, including long-range missiles, chemical weapons, and development of nuclear capabilities."[115] Although Abousi's claim that Al-Jibouri "completely developed [Iraq's] military industrialisation"[116] may be exaggerated, the presence of a career military officer in the MIC contradicts Hoyt's assertions that there were no military inputs into Iraq's military-industrial policy and highlights the increasing importance of the military in Iraqi policymaking during the 1980s.

Interpretation of Evidence, 1968-1990

Impact of Arms Imports on Military Effectiveness and Interoperability

Both the Kurdish counterinsurgency campaigns and the Iran-Iraq War cost the lives of an enormous amount of Iraqi soldiers. The number consistently given by official and unofficial Iraqi sources was that the amount of Iraqi soldiers who were "martyred, killed, or wounded"

[112] Interview with Abousi in *Saddam's Generals*, 189.
[113] Interview with Abousi in *Saddam's Generals*, 207-208.
[114] Interview with Abousi in *Saddam's Generals*, 208.
[115] *Saddam's Generals*, 208. At the end of the 1980s, the MIC was rolled under MIMI, described in more detail in chapter five.
[116] Interview with Abousi in *Saddam's Generals*, 208.

during the 1974-1975 campaign was 60,000.[117] The amount of Iraqi soldiers killed during the Iran-Iraq War varies according to different estimates. In a 1997 interview with *PBS Frontline*, the former head of Iraq's Military Intelligence, General Wafic al-Samarrai, estimated that roughly 180,000 Iraqis were killed during the war.[118] More recently, in a 2009 interview former Iraqi General Hamdani estimated that about 250,000 Iraqi soldiers were killed, 750,000 injured, and 40,000 taken prisoner.[119] As previous chapters have shown, despite these losses the Iraqi armed forces expanded at an unprecedented rate during this period. Furthermore, this chapter illustrated that the development of the Iraqi armed forces between 1968 and 1990 seems to largely contradict the viewpoint of defence dependence theorists and some of the current literature on arms transfers. The Baath Party's early attempts to shift Iraqi military doctrine from a Western (primarily British)-oriented one to the doctrine of Baghdad's primary military supplier (i.e. the Soviet Union) was ultimately met with resistance by Iraqi military officers who had originally trained in the United Kingdom, the United States, or France. For example, former Iraqi General Khammas, who graduated from the Royal Military Academy Sandhurst in 1957 and later received training at the British School of Infantry, the British Armour School, and the U.S. Army's Armor Center,[120] promoted the adoption of Western military doctrine in the Iraqi armed forces during the Iran-Iraq War. Officers like Khammas often considered Western military doctrine superior to that of the Soviet Union. In the long-run, even though Moscow was Iraq's primary supplier of weapons during the 1970s and 1980s, the attempt to "Sovietise" Iraqi

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[117] Of that number, an estimated 16,000 soldiers were killed. See *1982 Baath Party Congress Report* and Amir Iskander, *Saddam Hussein: the Fighter, the Thinker, and the Man* (1980), Part II, Chapter 10.
[118] "The Gulf War: Oral History," *PBS Frontline* (January 28, 1997) < http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/gulf/oral/samarrai/1.html >
[119] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 80.
[120] Woods et al., *Saddam's Generals*, 111. In a November 2009 interview, Khammas first response, when asked to provide his background: "I was trained in the West." He also mentions that his father was a minister of defence "during the old regime, the [Hashemite] monarchy," which was supported by Western powers.

military doctrine generally did not work. In a 2009 interview, Khammas, who between 1984 and 1988 served as the director of combat development at the Iraqi Ministry of Defence, states that,

> [During the 1980s], there were two schools of thought regarding military doctrine: Eastern (Soviet) and Western. The Eastern school argued that military doctrine was equivalent to strategy in that it should affect the entire state. The Western school of thought argued that doctrine is not equal to strategy. I myself supported the latter approach over the argument that military doctrine should encompass the whole state. Officers who studied in Egypt leaned towards the Eastern school of military doctrine, because Egypt had adopted Soviet doctrine. I adopted the other one [i.e. the Western school] because it was more logical.[121]

As with the Soviet impact on Iraqi military doctrine, the impact of Baghdad's primary supplier on Iraqi military planning during the Iran-Iraq War was much more limited than one would expect, as a result of the background of the Iraqi military officers who were in charge of planning operations. For example, between 1979 and 1984 the commander of the Iraqi air force was the Western-trained General al-Jibouri. In addition, according to Hamdani, in 1980 the "leader of the [military] planning directorate was a three-star general, Abdul al-Asadi [who] was a graduate of British schools."[122] Furthermore, at around 1986, former Major General Saladin Aziz, who is described by Khammas as "an officer from the old Iraqi Royal Army [who] studied in the United States,"[123] was brought out of retirement and promoted to General and became the Iraqi Army Chief of Staff.[124] These officers planned operations in accordance with what they studied in their initial training, not in accordance with who their military supplier was at the time. Thus, as pointed out above, during the defence of Basra in 1982 and 1984, Khammas devised plans for defensive operations based on what he had learned in the West, not the Soviet Union.[125] Although institutional memory may play an important role in allowing a foreign military supplier to impact the military doctrine of a recipient state over a long period of time, Moscow should

[121] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 134.
[122] Interview with Hamdani in *Saddam's Generals*, 55.
[123] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 143.
[124] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 143.
[125] Interview with Khammas in *Saddam's Generals*, 124-125.

have achieved this by the late 1980s, which would have marked roughly three decades since the start of Iraqi-Soviet security cooperation in 1958. Nevertheless, with time Iraqi officers actually turned more towards the military doctrine of Western countries, which were not as important to providing arms to Iraq as the Socialist-bloc countries but whose doctrine they found superior.

Impact of Arms Imports on Civil-Military Relations

One area in which Iraq seems to have been influenced by its primary supplier was the placement of Baathist "political officers" in high military ranks. Such political officers were given only minimal military training and formed a parallel chain of command within the armed forces. Operating through the Baathist Military Bureau, their primary task was to ensure the military's loyalty to the Baath Party. This was a concept borrowed from the Soviet Union's Main Political Administration in the Soviet Armed Forces, which employed "commissars" throughout the Soviet military that made sure that the military remained loyal to the Communist party. It is important to note, however, that while the concept was borrowed from the Soviet Union, only Baathists were allowed to serve as political officers. In fact, during the late 1970s, the Iraqi government arrested and often executed any non-Baathist Party members (primarily ICP members) who tried to "infiltrate the Iraqi Armed Forces."[126]

Gradually, during the Iran-Iraq War the role of these political officers was curtailed. As mentioned in the interviews above, beginning in the early-to-mid 1980s, Iraqi military officers began to stand up to orders given by inexperienced political officers. Rather than imprisoning, jailing, or executing military personnel who argued with Baathist political officers (as was the case during the 1970s), the Iraqi government gave a less severe punishment (such as re-assigning

[126] Smolansky, *The USSR and Iraq*, 128-130.

military officers elsewhere within the military). Furthermore, individuals such as Khammas advocated a system that promoted civilian control alongside military professionalism, which is more similar to the Western model in its emphasis on a professional military force rather than the Soviet model of a loyalist, party-led military. By around 1986, most of the Baathist political officers were completely removed, as military professionalism had become more important to achieving a higher rank than loyalty to the Baathist cause. Whereas at the start of the Iran-Iraq War Saddam micromanaged the military and was involved in the formulation of Iraqi military doctrine and strategy, after several battlefield losses Saddam allowed the armed forces more flexibility.[127] By the second half of the Iran-Iraq War, the Iraqi armed forces emerged as a more professional military force, still under the control of the Iraqi government but less of an instrument of the Baath Party. This transition in civil-military relations is reflected in the SHC. For example, at the end of the war, the "Department of Political Guidance" within the Iraqi ministry of Defence released a propaganda book providing the Iraqi government's analysis of the Iran-Iraq War. While the Baath Party is mentioned on a number of occasions, the book emphasises the achievements of the Iraqi armed forces as an institution and portrays it as a fighting force for the entire Arab world:

> The military, political, and psychological victories achieved in the Arab eastern gate by the Iraqi [armed] forces were not used for the Iraqi's own benefits only. The result of the Iraq-Iran War did not stop the aggression against Iraq only, but it stopped it against the entire Arab world… The Iraqi victory [provides] the Arab countries with the opportunity to maintain their internal and external security from the big Khomeini wave, which was prepared to invade all Arab countries without exception.[128]

[127] Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 137-139.
[128] SH-MODX-D-000-582, "Document, entitled 'Cultural Program for Political Guidance: Part 3,' regarding Iraqi military strategy and the Baathist regime," 1980 to 1989. The "Eastern gate" in the quote above references Iraq's geographic position as the only Arab country bordering Iran, which on its east.

Two additional areas are worth highlighting in terms of civil-military relations in Iraq in the period under study: deserters and martyrs. Few definitive numbers exist that account for the total number of Iraqi deserters during the Iran-Iraq war.[129] A figure that is commonly cited is that of 48,000 primarily Kurdish soldiers who, by Saddam's own admission, deserted the Iraqi military in 1983.[130] Desertion seemed to have become more problematic as the Iran-Iraq War continued. Between 1986 and August 1988 the Southern Bureau of the Baath Party's General Secretariat reported catching 67,522 deserters in southern Iraq, where the military was engaged in major military operations; of that number, 58,943 surrendered, most likely after an RCC amnesty decree, and about 600 either died in the pursuit or were executed. Between the summer of 1985 and March 1987 the Northern Bureau processed nearly 83,000 deserters and absentees, while the Euphrates and Baghdad Bureaus processed over 20,000 deserters and absentees during the last years of the war.[131]

Desertion posed a problem to the Baathist regime for a number of reasons. Kurdish deserters, who were previously part of Iraq's National Defence Battalions, often joined the *peshmerga* and mounted attacks on the Iraqi military during the mid-1980s.[132] Some deserters engaged in illicit trade, joined the underground economy, or fled the country. The Baath Party treated desertion as the "gravest of political and social threats."[133] To tackle increased levels of desertion (particularly beginning in the mid-1980s), the Iraqi government oscillated between passing draconian measures (for example, making desertion punishable by death) and issuing amnesty directives. Heavy-handed policies often proved to be an ineffective instrument in

[129] See Dina Khoury, *Iraq in Wartime: Soldiering, Martyrdom, and Remembrance* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 73, and Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 152.
[130] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 150.
[131] Khoury, *Iraq in Wartime,* 75.
[132] Khoury, *Iraq in Wartime*, 32.
[133] Khoury, *Iraq in Wartime,* 73.

tackling desertion as the number of deserters increased as the war continued. The Baath Party therefore periodically passed directives that offered amnesty to deserters. For example, on February 11, 1985 the Revolutionary Command Council passed order number 209, which pardoned all deserters who were willing to re-join their units within thirty days of the law.[134] Another strategy which the Iraqi government pursued to deal with desertion included greater spending on the armed forces, including increasing arms imports, a subject which is tackled in greater detail in chapter four. The influx of modern military imports during the Iran-Iraq war – from sophisticated weapons to high-quality uniforms – was part of the regime's strategy to enhance their soldiers' morale and loyalty to the state.[135]

The Iraqi government also sought to solidify the population's support for the war by encouraging the concept of martyrdom.[136] On January 16, 1982 the Baathist regime designated the first of December as the Day of the Martyr to commemorate December 1, 1981, when an untold number of Iraqi prisoners of war were executed by Iranian soldiers in Bostan, Iran.[137] In addition, according to the 1982 Baath Party Ninth Regional Congress, the Iraqi government exempted the families of martyrs "from the bequest tax as well as the deeds of cession held by the legal heirs."[138] If the martyr was the owner of a house, then that house was exempt from the estate tax.[139] In July 1983 the Iraqi government inaugurated the Martyr's Monument, which was meant to commemorate Iraqi soldiers who had died during the Iran-Iraq war.[140] Rituals, entitlements, and monuments devoted to martyrs and their families "unified Iraqis across the

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[134] Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 152.
[135] Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 139-141.
[136] The Iraqi Ministry of Defence and Baath Party led different programs providing support to the families of martyred soldiers. See Khoury, *Iraq in Wartime,* 165-166.
[137] Khoury, *Iraq in Wartime*, 221; Sassoon, *Saddam Hussein's Ba'th Party*, 158.
[138] Arab Baath Socialist Party, "The Central Report of the Ninth Regional Congress, June 1982," Baghdad: The Party, 1983.
[139] Arab Baath Socialist Party, "Central Report," 1983.
[140] Khoury, *Iraq in Wartime*, 219-228.

religious, sectarian, and ethnic divide; their personal histories submerged in an epic fight against historic enemies."[141]

During the 1980s the Baathist regime defined that historic enemy as the "Persians."[142] Martyrdom was portrayed by Iraqi officials as the ultimate sacrifice in the defence of the nation against the "Persian enemy" and the most virtuous act a citizen of Iraq could undertake. Internal Iraqi intelligence documents from the mid-1980s are labelled with the quote that "Martyrs will always be the noblest amongst us."[143] The Baath Party's promotion of martyrdom as the "noblest" deed continued into the late 1980s, even after the end of the Iran-Iraq War.[144] The regime's treatment of desertions and martyrdom were two important pieces of Iraqi civil-military relations during the period under study.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter looked at the military implications of security cooperation. In particular, it analysed whether a country's position as a predominant military supplier to a certain recipient increases the likelihood that the recipient will follow the *modus operandi* of the supplier (i.e. in terms of doctrine, strategy, tactics, planning, and civil-military relations.) It argued that between 1968 and 1990, the Soviet Union's position as Iraq's primary military supplier had a much more limited impact on the Iraqi armed forces than one would expect. Many of the senior Iraqi military officers during the 1970s and 1980s were originally trained in Western countries (e.g.

[141] Khoury, *Iraq in Wartime*, 224.
[142] Khoury, *Iraq in Wartime*, 224. The narrative that Iraq was involved in a historic struggle against the Persians is also one that Baathist officials truly believed in, as is evident in a number of internal Iraqi government deliberations. For example, see SH-SHTP-A-001-023, 1987 and SH-SHTP-A-000-910, 1989.
[143] See, for example, SH-GMID-D-000-550, 1982-1987 and SH-GMID-D-000-463, 1984-1986.
[144] For example, see SH-GMID-D-000-387, 1990.

the United States, the United Kingdom, and France) and resisted political pressures to drop Western doctrine in favour of Soviet doctrine. In particular, during the 1980s, many of the senior Iraqi military officers charged with planning operations and developing Iraqi doctrine tried to emulate and borrow from Western militaries more than they did from the Soviet armed forces.

An area in which Iraq resembled its primary military supplier was in the area of civil-military relations. As was the case of the Communist party commissars in the Soviet armed forces, during the 1970s the Baathist regime inserted thousands of political officers within the Iraqi armed forces to ensure the military's loyalty to the Baath Party. These political officers had little training or experience in military affairs and their presence on the front-lines early the Iran-Iraq War had disastrous consequences on early Iraqi military operations. By the mid-1980s, however, most of these political commissars were removed by the Baathist regime after pressure from senior Iraqi military officers. During the latter part of the Iran-Iraq War, Iraq gradually transitioned from a loyalist, party-controlled military to a civilian-controlled professional military force.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSIONS

When the Baath Party came to power in 1968, few scholars or policymakers could have predicted that Iraq – which at that point had a population of only nine million and a gross national product amounting to $3 billion dollars – would develop into one of the largest military powers in the region, let alone in the world. Yet, in the course of just over two decades, that is exactly what had happened: by 1990 Iraq had a larger arsenal of conventional weapons than each of its neighbours, regional adversaries and competitors, including Iran, Israel, Turkey, the Gulf countries, Syria, and Egypt, and possessed one of the largest arsenals of unconventional weapons in the world. In addition, its performance on the battlefield by the late 1980s had improved considerably since the start of the Iran-Iraq War in 1980. As Pollack points out, by the end of the war Iraqi military forces "penetrated Iranian defensive positions quickly and usually with a minimum of casualties… The offensives were preceded by highly effective deception operations and benefited from excellent intelligence [and] moved crisply and efficiently, proceeding from one phase to the next with little delay and featuring relatively rapid movement throughout."[1] Contrary to conventional thinking in arms transfer literature, much of which argues that foreign military assistance accentuates and prolongs the weakness of recipient states, this research

[1] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 229-230.

showed that Iraq was able to become much stronger militarily through security cooperation, to maintain an independent foreign and domestic policy despite the increase in its import of arms, and to grow its economy despite the high levels of military imports. This chapter describes how Baghdad was able to do this. It then explains the theoretical and policy implications of this work, and presents areas for further research.

Assessing Iraq's Military Imports Strategy

In the opening chapter of this research, I asked to what extent Iraq's military suppliers had an impact on Baghdad's political, economic, and military policies. In particular, I wanted to find out if Baghdad's primary military suppliers were able to wield significant influence over Iraqi internal, foreign, and security policies. In the second chapter I presented the main assumptions and predictions of the current literature on arms transfers. I focused on defence dependence theory, the predominant school of thought in the field. In the ensuing chapters I tried to understand the extent to which Iraqi behaviour between 1968 and 1990 conformed to the expectations of scholars, analysts, and policymakers. As this research showed, some assumptions regarding recipient behaviour were proven to be right; others were not. While Iraqi behaviour followed some of defence dependence theory's expectations vis-à-vis recipient behaviour (which were presented in chapter two), in many ways it did not. To an extent, it was Baghdad's unwillingness to conform to the unwritten norms of recipient behaviour that made it such a powerful independent military force by 1990, and which made studying its policies so interesting.

Other countries in the region, such as Saudi Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, also aspired to the same goals that the Baathist leadership in Iraq did, such as political independence vis-à-vis their

suppliers and greater access to the latest military hardware in their suppliers' inventories. However, Baghdad pursued a much more activist strategy in terms of diversifying its arms suppliers, building an indigenous military industry, and constantly signalling to all of its partners its commitment to developing independent political, economic, and military policies. Unlike Iraq, which engaged in security cooperation with the Western and Socialist blocs and non-aligned countries, in the period between 1968 and 1990 Saudi Arabia imported arms almost exclusively from the West: primarily from the United States, but also from the United Kingdom and France.[2] Riyadh did not pursue military cooperation with the Soviet Union or socialist bloc states in part because of America's vast imports of Saudi oil (the dollars which Riyadh received from oil sales were later used to buy American military hardware) and the ideological incompatibility between the religiously conservative Saudi Arabia and the "godless" Soviet Union.[3] Riyadh's policies came at a cost. During the 1970s it was essentially locked in a race "to purchase U.S. arms in order to match Iranian arms proliferation."[4] Whereas Baghdad had many suppliers from multiple political blocs from which it could choose from and play against each other, the reverse was true for Riyadh, whose primary military supplier (the United States) was simultaneously building-up the military of its primary regional rival (Iran).

Similarly, between 1968 and 1990 Syria imported 96% of its arms from the Soviet Union with the remainder coming primarily from Socialist bloc states such as Czechoslovakia and Poland.[5] Despite Syria's reliance on Soviet weaponry, on some occasions Damascus was able to exercise influence over its supplier. For example, after the Kremlin cut arms to Syria in 1976 to

[2] According to SIPRI, roughly 94% of Saudi arms imports in the period between 1968 and 1990 came from the United States, France, and the United Kingdom. The only non-Western country from which Saudi Arabia imported was China, which accounted for 1.9% of Saudi imports. See SIPRI, *Saudi Arms Imports*, 1968-1990.
[3] Robert Mason, *Foreign Policy in Iran and Saudi Arabia: Economics and Diplomacy in the Middle East* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), 14.
[4] Mason, *Foreign Policy in Iran and Saudi Arabia*, 14.
[5] SIPRI, *Syrian Arms Imports*, 1968-1990.

protest the latter's intervention in Lebanon, Damascus threatened to curtail Moscow's access to the Tartus port. The Soviet Union resumed its arms shipments to Syria during the following year and the relationship stabilised thereafter.[6] Damascus also sought to play off the various blocs that financially supported Syria's military expansion against one another, including the Soviet Union, the Gulf States, Iran, and the West.[7] However, Damascus had much less leverage vis-à-vis its suppliers relative to Iraq, which had over twice as many suppliers from the socialist, Western, and non-aligned blocs.[8]

Contrary to Cairo's wishes, Moscow refused to supply Egypt with offensive arms in the period under study. As a way to open its relations to the United States as well as to bolster its image of independence, in July 1972 Sadat expelled 25,000 Soviet military advisors from Egypt.[9] Only then was Cairo able to exercise more autonomy and achieve relative military success in the October War of 1973. Furthermore, during the mid-1970s the Egyptian military gradually started to diversify its suppliers; the United States replaced the Soviet Union as Egypt's main arms supplier, and Cairo secured France, the United Kingdom, and China as additional military partners.[10] Military diversification created a more effective Egyptian military and bolstered the local arms industry during the 1980s. The sections below highlight some of the other similarities and differences between Iraq and its neighbours in the period under study. Notably, Iraq stood out in comparison to other Arab recipients such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Syria in that it imported more arms than all of the aforementioned states, had over twice as many

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[6] Karsh, "Influence Through Arms Supplies," 6-7.
[7] From 1977 to 1988, Syria only financed 45% of its total imports, while the rest of the financing came primarily from Moscow and the Arab Gulf countries. See Raymond Hinnebusch, "The Foreign Policy of Syria," in Raymond Hinnebusch and Anoushiravan Ehteshami (editors), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002), 151.
[8] SIPRI, *Syrian and Iraqi Arms Imports*, 1968-1990.
[9] Hinnebusch, "The Middle East Regional System," in Hinnebusch and Ehteshami (editors), *The Foreign Policies of Middle East States*, 41.
[10] SIPRI, *Egyptian Arms Imports*, 1968-1990.

suppliers, built the strongest Arab armed forces and arguably the strongest military industry in the region, and successfully barred military suppliers from staging a foreign military presence on its territory.

I. The Strategic Context

Some scholars argue that the strategic context (i.e. the set of local, regional, and international circumstances) in which a recipient makes its arms imports decisions puts it at a disadvantage: a recipient may unwittingly fight on behalf of its suppliers; it may enter an arms race that is engineered by outside powers; and it may ultimately seek external protection (despite the loss of sovereignty which it entails) to guarantee its security. Nevertheless, Baghdad was able to import vast amounts of arms without fundamentally modifying its threat perception to fit in with those of its military suppliers. During the 1970s, Iraq's primary military supplier was the USSR. While on the surface it seemed that both Moscow and Baghdad shared the same threat perception (i.e. the belief that the region was under attack by Western-led "imperialism") in practice the Baathist regime was more concerned about internal security challenges. Between the late 1960s and the mid-1970s the Baathist regime used military power to extend its coercive power throughout Iraq in particular in defeating the Kurdish insurgency in northern Iraq. Defeating the Kurdish insurgency was certainly not an interest to Moscow, since during that era the Kremlin enjoyed close ties with Kurdish opposition groups.

In one area in which the Kremlin did perceive a threat to the region, Iraq proved to a non-compliant recipient: despite pressure by Moscow on Baghdad to join a pan-Arab regional security mechanism meant to defend against "imperialist forces" in the region, the Iraqi government failed to do so. Additionally, compared to the other conflicts that it was involved in during that time period, including the Kurdish counterinsurgency campaign and border clashes

with Iran, Iraq's participation in the 1973 Arab-Israeli War was very limited. During the 1980s, Baghdad's primary threat shifted to an external source: Iran. At the start of the Iran-Iraq War, Iraq's military suppliers had no intrinsic reason to view Iran as a greater threat than Iraq. However, by presenting Iraq as a more pragmatic and rational actor than Iran, Baghdad was able to alter the threat perceptions of the great powers in accordance with Iraqi interests. By changing the threat perceptions of its suppliers (instead of the other way around), Baghdad opened almost a floodgate of foreign military assistance: Iraq became the largest arms importer in the world for much of the 1980s, and its armed forces grew at one of the fastest rates in the world. For most of the period under study, therefore, Iraqi threat perceptions were essentially determined by the Baathist leadership, with suppliers having a minimal impact in its formulation. To an extent, Iraq demonstrates an example of Keohane's "big influence of small allies" rather than Catrina's description of dependent states: Baghdad was able to change the threat perception of its military allies rather than the other way around.

Between 1968 and 1990, most of Iraq's neighbours (Turkey, Iran, and the Arab Gulf states) had at some point or during the entire period a foreign military presence on their territory. The pattern was often the same: a recipient state would allow its primary military supplier to maintain a military base on its soil. This policy enabled supplier states to project their military power, and the recipient states to receive both arms and external protection. This was true of the United States vis-à-vis Iran during the 1970s and vis-à-vis Saudi Arabia during the 1980s, NATO vis-a-vis Turkey during the entire period, the Soviet Union vis-à-vis Egypt during the late 1960s and early 1970s and Libya and Syria during the 1980s, and Great Britain vis-à-vis the smaller Arab Gulf states prior to 1971. In all of the cases above, the recipient state allowed its supplier to have a forward military presence on its territory in exchange for closer military ties

and arms imports. In this context, Iraq proved to be the exception rather than the rule. Despite granting the Soviet navy limited "visitation rights" to the Umm Qasr port during the early 1970s, the Baathist regime did not allow any foreign military power to maintain a permanent base during the period under study. Stridently independent, the Baathist government insisted that it would counter internal and external threats on its own. It viewed any external foreign military presence as an encroachment of Iraqi and pan-Arab sovereignty and also urged other Arab countries to adopt its Pan-Arab Charter, the first principle of which was the rejection of all foreign military bases in the region. While accepting the Charter's ideals in theory, most Arab states did not follow its principles, including those countries that had initially signed it. Nevertheless, in contrast to literature that links arms imports to foreign military bases, Iraq itself did stay committed to the principle of rejecting a foreign military presence on its territory.

II. Supplier Influence

Scholars and policymakers often argue that military assistance is an effective instrument of a supplier's foreign policy. However, this research showed that, although Iraqi foreign and domestic policies were impacted by the desires of its suppliers in the early years of the Baath Party's reign, over the long-run Baghdad maintained an autonomous decision-making vis-à-vis its foreign, security, and internal policies. During the 1970s Moscow sought to influence Baghdad's foreign policy and was moderately successful for a number of years. For example, Iraq withdrew from Kuwait in 1973 as a result of Soviet pressure. Baghdad's public rhetoric also suggested that it shared Moscow's objective of expelling the "imperialist forces" from of the Middle East. Nevertheless, private correspondence between Baghdad and Moscow, found in the SHC, illustrates that in private there were strong disagreements between the recipient and its primary supplier, often caused by the Soviet Union's inability to delivery weapons and spare

parts on time. Furthermore, despite the Iraqi government's openly "anti-imperialist" stance, recently declassified U.S. documents from the early 1970s show Baghdad's consistent attempts to improve its diplomatic ties with Washington (often through private channels.)

In addition, after Baghdad began to diversify its military suppliers during the mid-1970s, the Baathist leadership began to criticise Soviet foreign policy, particularly when it concerned the Arab and Muslim worlds, including Afghanistan, Eritrea, Somalia, and Yemen. Similarly, during the 1980s, despite the aid that it gave to Iraq during the war, Washington's attempt to curtail Baghdad's support of terrorist groups or to cease its weapons-of-mass destruction programs, the Baathist regime did not deviate from its policies. During most of the period under study, besides changing some of its rhetoric in public (for example, during the 1980s the Iraqi government openly supported a peaceful solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict), Iraq pursued an independent foreign policy that was largely unaffected by the pressures of its military suppliers.

Contrary to expectations by policymakers and scholars, Baghdad's suppliers were also generally unable to influence Iraqi security policy. During the 1970s and 1980s, the large volume of Iraqi military imports necessitated the presence of foreign military personnel in its country: advisers, trainers, technicians, maintenance crews. Several thousand foreign military personnel were present in Iraq during both decades. Nevertheless, given the authoritarian nature of the Baathist regime, the movement of foreign military personnel around Iraq and their ability to interact with local military officers and civilians was restricted by Iraq's internal intelligence and security services. In particular, Soviet military personnel had limited access to or influence over political or military officials in the Iraqi high command; consequently, their ability to impact the work of Iraq's Ministers of Interior and Defence was much more limited than one would expect given the size of the Kremlin's arms exports. In addition, foreign technicians

working on conventional and unconventional weapons programs in Iraq often were unaware of the Baathist government's ultimate vision for its indigenous military production program.

One of the elements that defence dependence theory misses is the role that the domestic political structure of the recipient state plays in how arms imports impact the security policy of the recipient state. In particular, the authoritarian nature of the Baathist regime ensured that the increasing amount of military imports would not have a significant impact on Iraqi decision-making. Nowhere was this truer than when it came to Iraq's internal affairs. During the first few years at the start of the Baathist regime's reign, Moscow was able to use arms transfers to pressure the Baathist regime to share power with the Iraqi Communist Party and the Kurdistan Democratic Party. However, once the Baath Party felt comfortable that its power was consolidated in Baghdad, it launched a counterinsurgency campaign against the Kurds and moved to eliminate any participation by Soviet-backed ICP members in the Iraqi government and armed forces. By the late 1970s, the Baath Party emerged as the undisputed decision-maker within the Iraqi government. In the following decade, despite Soviet arms accounting for over half of all Iraqi military imports during the 1980s, with a few minor exceptions the Iraqi government largely refused to stop its persecution of ICP members. Furthermore, despite the public commitment of Western states to link military aid to the human rights records of the recipient state, Iraq was able to continue receiving military aid from France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and other European countries for years even though there was mounting evidence that Baghdad was using it on a systematic basis against Kurdish targets and Iranian troops. In large part, it was the nature of the Baathist regime, as described above, that determined the low-level of influence by Iraq's military suppliers.

III. Recipient Counter-Dependence

One of the key strategies by which the Iraqi government mitigated supplier influence was through its military diversification program, which began in earnest during the mid-1970s. By the late-1970s, Baghdad's primary military supplier after the Soviet Union was France. Iraq also had embarked on close security cooperation relationships with a number of Socialist bloc states, Arab countries, and numerous regimes in Africa and Latin America. The number of military suppliers rose from three in the early 1970s to over 20 countries during the mid-1980s. Meanwhile, by the late 1970s and during the 1980s the share of Soviet military aid as a total of all Iraqi arms imports dropped, from over 90% to as low as one-half. The Baath Party's military diversification program was one of the primary reasons that Baghdad was able to maintain an independent political stance vis-à-vis Iraq's internal and foreign policies, as described above.

A second counter-dependence strategy that the Baathist regime adopted was the development of Iraq's military industry, which was largely non-existent before the ascent of the Baath Party. Indigenous military production programs had their roots in the mid-1970s, but reached a peak during the 1980s, when the Iraqi government focused more on technology transfers, i.e. importing the knowledge of how to build weapons rather than merely purchasing whole weapon systems themselves. The expansion of Iraq's indigenous military industry was impressive: at its height during the mid-to-late 1980s it employed over 100,000 workers and cooperated with thousands of scientists and technicians from around the world. The results of these labours were mixed: Iraq was able to manufacture small arms, such as ammunition and light weapons, but it was unable to achieve other objectives that the Baath party was aiming for earlier in their reign (for example, the ability to build aircraft internally.) Additionally, some of the arms that Baghdad exhibited during the late 1980s as "Iraqi-made" seem to have been

modified foreign weapons. Despite these shortcomings, by the late 1980s Iraq had the most robust military industry in the Arab world and arguably one of the most ambitious programs for producing conventional and unconventional weapons.

One of the key areas in which Iraq's military industry was especially successful was in the development of unconventional weapons, which also contributed to its ability to mitigate dependence on foreign military suppliers. During the 1980s, Baghdad was able to import the technologies and ingredients that were needed to develop and deploy chemical and biological weapons and launch ballistic missiles. The use of chemical weapons against enemy targets and the employment of Iraqi long-range ballistic missiles on Tehran and other large Iranian cities had a direct psychological impact on Iranian decision-makers, troops, and citizens. By lowering the morale of its adversary, the use of indigenously-produced cruder weapons reduced Iraq's need for more advanced and expensive conventional arms. In addition, the Baath Party implemented a wide-ranging diplomatic campaign during the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s with countries which it earlier branded as "imperialist powers," such as the United States and the United Kingdom. In particular, Iraq appealed to foreign political-military elites and defence industry representatives and reached out to the general public in military supplier states. Through these efforts, Iraq was able to build important and loyal constituencies in Brazil, France, the United States, and a host of other countries. Relationships created between high-ranking Iraqi officials and policymakers in supplier states meant that the latter proved willing to support Iraq on a continued basis during the 1980s even when certain disagreements arose (e.g. over the use of chemical weapons against innocent civilians.) Finally, although the Iraqi armed forces were not particularly adept at stockpiling weapons during the 1970s, by the 1980s Iraq adopted a number of logistics systems which enabled it to survive during the Soviet arms embargo between

1980 and 1982 and continue military operations deep in Iran throughout the war. Collectively, these actions allowed the Iraqi government to maintain the distance that it had wanted to from its military suppliers.

IV. Economic Elements of Arms Transfers

Scholars often point out the negative impact of arms imports on a recipient's socio-economic development. Nevertheless, as was shown above, during both decades under study Iraq was able to sustain high levels of growth despite its weapons imports. While heavily reliant on oil revenues, Iraq's economy and living standards continued to improve during the 1980s despite the fact that it was able to export only a third of its previous level of oil. The survival and growth of its economy during the Iran-Iraq War can in part be attributed to the external financial aid which Baghdad received from various Gulf countries, European countries, and the United States. However, Baathist socio-economic investments in the Iraqi workforce and general population (such as foreign training programs and the Baathist literacy campaign) and the privatisation of numerous state-run industries also contributed to the creation of a more vibrant economy that was slowly transitioning from an agrarian labour force to an industrialised one. The major long-term cost of Baghdad's "guns-and-butter" policy was that Iraq accumulated a large foreign debt, which proved difficult to repay after the war.

The Iraqi government's imports of both military and civilian goods from abroad also generated a moderate level of supplier export dependence. While such purchases theoretically could have made Iraq a more dependent country, its status as a large-scale weapons importer allowed Baghdad to emphasise the commercial incentives of security cooperation in discussions with officials in military supplier states. This had an important consequence on its relationship with France, Iraq's second-largest military supplier during the late 1970s and throughout the

1980s. Baghdad embarked on large-scale military cooperation programs with Paris, and at the height of their relationship Iraq accounted for nearly half of all French arms exports. Since one-third of France's defence industry relied on the export of arms, Baghdad's vast arms imports put Iraq in an advantageous negotiating position, which it was able to use to gain better weapons, often at more lenient financial terms. Furthermore, despite the massive accumulation of debt that Baghdad owed to Paris by the mid-1980s, France continued to send weapons to Iraq and support its military industry. In a way, the debt which Baghdad generated vis-à-vis its suppliers contributed positively to its war effort, since its suppliers now had an interest in seeing Iraq win the war so that it could pay back the debt.

V. Military Implications of Security Cooperation

While foreign military training improved the effectiveness of Iraq's armed forces, there was a more limited correlation between the source of weapons that Baghdad received and the source of Iraqi military doctrine, planning, and operations. In fact, the Baathist political leadership's attempt to introduce Soviet military doctrine to the Iraqi armed forces during the early 1970s was met with protest from senior military officers. This was particularly true with the older generation of Iraqi military officers, many of whom were trained in Great Britain and the United States and considered Western military doctrine superior to Soviet doctrine. Consequently, even though Moscow provided the majority of Iraq's weapons in the period under study, the military doctrine, operations, and planning of the Iraqi armed forces often reflected ideas borrowed from American and British militaries. One early exception was the doctrine of the Iraqi air force, which continued to rely on Soviet air doctrine until the early 1980s. However, with the introduction of French fighter-aircraft into the Iraqi military at the start of the Iran-Iraq War, the IQAF began to integrate Western military training, which stressed more personal initiative and

creativity and improved the IQAF's effectiveness in both air-to-air combat against the Iranian air force and missile strikes against Iranian targets. Furthermore, as described above, Iraq's air defence program during the mid-to-late 1980s was modelled after NATO military doctrine. For other branches of the Iraqi armed forces, the Iraqi military during both decades resorted to using a combination of Western and Soviet doctrine. The Baathist political leadership also directed military officers to develop an indigenous military doctrine, which they created by combining foreign military doctrines alongside their own experiences fighting their own adversaries (the Kurds, Israel, and Iran.)

One area in which Iraq borrowed from its primary military supplier was in terms of civil-military relations. From the start of the early 1970s the Baath Party promoted several thousand Baathist "political officers" (equivalent to "political commissars" in the Soviet armed forces) to high-level posts within the Iraqi armed forces. Since the Iraqi military was historically involved in numerous political coups in Baghdad, the primary job of these political officers was to ensure the loyalty of professional military officers to the Baath Party. During the Iran-Iraq War, however, their presence on the front-lines of combat impeded military operations. By the mid-1980s, Iraqi political-military officials had begun a debate over the different types of civil-military relations. Ultimately, the Iraqi government removed the majority of these political officers and stressed its commitment to creating a more professional military. Ineffective commanders were removed, irrespective of their loyalty to the Baath Party or family ties to members of the Iraqi government. These changes reflected a move towards a Western-type of civil-military relations (i.e. civilian control over a professional military) and enhanced Iraqi military effectiveness on the battlefield. Therefore, over the long-run the Iraqi government did

what it believed worked best for Iraqi interests, rather than what its suppliers recommended or pressured it to do.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

For Recipient States

Between 1968 and 1990 Iraq transformed from a relatively-unknown country into one of the strongest political, economic, and military powers in the region and international system. As this research showed, contrary to expectations by defence dependence theorists, it was able to do so while maintaining mostly independent foreign and internal policies. Nevertheless, Baathist policies did have a number of long-run costs. For example, despite a relatively successful diplomatic outreach to political, military, and defence industry elites in various military supplier states, its use of chemical weapons in the mid-and-late 1980s tainted its image in the international arena and made continuing military aid to it more difficult. Furthermore, Iraq's high military spending (which became necessary as a result of the Iran-Iraq War) contributed to a large-scale debt. Whether the economic crisis that was occurring in Iraq during early 1990 was the "primary force behind the invasion"[11] or whether the "arrogance that came with [Iraq's military] strength [in 1990] prompted Baghdad to overreach itself in Kuwait"[12] is beyond the scope of this paper.[13] Nevertheless, the twenty-two year period leading up to that point poses several lessons for recipient states.

[11] Chaudhry, "On the Way to the Market," 14.
[12] Pollack, *Arabs at War*, 553.
[13] For an examination of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 based on Iraqi government documents, see Kevin Woods, *The Mother of All Battles: Saddam Hussein's Strategic Plan for the Persian Gulf War* (Annapolis, Md.: Naval Institute Press, 2008.)

A key dilemma that most policymakers in recipient states face is the perceived trade-off between the ability to defend their sovereignty and their ability to generate independent policies. To enhance a country's sovereignty (i.e. the central government's ability to maintain internal and external security), a recipient state must import some weapons from abroad. In so doing, contemporary wisdom suggests that it must give up a part of its political autonomy (i.e. it must modify its internal or external policies, allow the supplier to stage a foreign military presence on its soil, and so on.) This research showed that a recipient *can* enhance its sovereignty through foreign military aid while maintaining its autonomy. However, it can only do so by pursuing a number of counter-dependence strategies that improve its bargaining position vis-à-vis more powerful suppliers, including military diversification and indigenous production. Stockpiling of weapons is also crucial since a supplier state may decide to cut off military aid during a conflict. Furthermore, a recipient state's diplomatic outreach to foreign political leaders, military officials, public audiences, and defence industry representatives in supplier states is also important for its ability to receive arms on a sustained basis. Undeniably, Baghdad's oil wealth contributed to the expansion of the Iraqi armed forces, but here credit must be given to Baghdad on two fronts. Firstly, the decision to nationalise Iraq's oil in 1972 put it in a better position to benefit from the increase in oil prices during the rest of the decade. Secondly, after Syria's closure of Iraqi oil pipelines cut Iraq's oil exports by two-thirds, through increased diplomacy with different states Baghdad was able to get enough financial assistance from the USSR, Arab states, and Western countries to allow it to sustain the war for eight years. Other recipient states which may not have the same access to oil revenues as Iraq may have to opt for Baghdad's approach during the 1980s (i.e. extensive, diversified diplomacy.)

Some counter-dependence strategies have both costs and benefits. For example, diversification of military partners can generate competition amongst suppliers which results in better terms for weapons purchases, but can also contribute to weak supplier-recipient relations over the long-run if the recipient state is viewed as a non-loyal partner. Similarly, investment in the production of weapons of mass destruction may lower a recipient state's need to purchase more costly conventional weapons, but their use may taint the recipient's image and make future arms imports more difficult as a result of sanctions. Today, the Iraqi military (known as the Iraqi Security Forces, or ISF) has virtually no combat aircraft, a diminutive navy, and its army has one of the smallest arsenals of conventional weapons in the region.[14] Furthermore, Iraq's chemical, nuclear, and biological weapons programs have also been dismantled.[15]

The lack of military power (and political leadership) on the part of the Iraqi central government has allowed the Islamic State (IS) to gain control over large areas of western and northern Iraq. To defeat IS fighters, Baghdad has sought to military assistance from a wide range of suppliers, including Moscow, Washington, and Paris. As was the case during the 1970s and 1980s, this policy has resulted in a modicum of supplier competition as Moscow and Washington have provided military aid to Baghdad for commercial reasons and to exert influence over Iraqi internal and external affairs. In contrast to the period under study, however, Baghdad supports the *peshmerga* in its fight against the IS insurgency, which threatens both the

[14] In December 2013, Iraq had three combat aircraft (compared to 316 in 2003 and 689 in 1990), 336 main battle tanks (2,200 in 2003 and 5,500 in 1990), 193 armoured infantry fighting vehicles (compared to 1,300 in 2003), and nearly non-existent naval assets. See Anthony Cordesman, Sam Khazai, and Daniel Dewit, "Shaping Iraq's Security Forces," *Center for Strategic and International Studies, US-Iranian Competition Series* (December 16, 2013) and Pelletiere and Johnson, *Lessons Learned*, 3; *Military Balance*, 1989-1990, London: Brassey's, 1989, 99-101.
[15] In 1991 Iraq agreed to destroy its WMD stockpiles. However, later during the 1990s it refused to admit inspection of certain military sites, which resulted in perceived ambiguity about the state of its WMD programs. According to some post-2003 analyses, Baghdad's strategic ambiguity was designed to deter an external invasion (from Israel or Iran) and bolster Iraq's image in the Arab world. See Kevin Woods, James Lacey, and Williamson Murray, "Saddam's Delusions: the View from the Inside," *Foreign Affairs* (May/June 2006) and Woods, Palkki, and Stout, *The Saddam Tapes*, 254-257.

Iraqi central government and the Kurdish region. Although foreign military aid will be necessary to the survival of the current Iraqi regime, it remains to be seen whether the political regime in Baghdad will be able to convince foreign powers to provide enough military aid to defeat the IS.

For Supplier States

Supplier states normally justify arms transfers on the basis of the amount of perceived leverage that they will bring vis-à-vis a recipient state. Nevertheless, a supplier's goal for a recipient to modify its foreign or domestic policy is often not met. For example, since the onset of the Arab Spring in 2010, American officials have threatened to cut off military aid to Egypt in order to pressure the post-Mohammed Morsi regime led by Abdel Fattah al-Sisi to adopt an open, democratic system of government. Nevertheless, Washington's threat to cut military aid to Baghdad was ineffective in bringing about democratic reform – or stability – in Cairo. Between 1968 and 1990, the Soviet Union, Iraq's primary military supplier, repeatedly tried to use military aid to impact the internal and external affairs of the Baathist regime in Baghdad. Archival evidence in the SHC suggests that Soviet arms embargos only led Iraqi leaders to adopt a number of counter-dependence strategies, including diversification of its military suppliers, building an indigenous defence industrial base, and stockpiling its weapon supplies.

Some similarities to Iraq's military imports can be seen today in terms of the policies that the Egyptian government has pursued in recent years. For example, after the U.S. Congress threatened to cut off military supplies to Egypt following the military's overthrow of Mohammed Morsi, the interim military regime in Cairo began to court Russia to receive great military aid, which Moscow has gladly agreed to do. Furthermore, despite American pressure for democratic

reform, the Muslim Brotherhood, the main opposition party, was recently banned from running in elections. Similar attempts by the Soviet Union during the 1970s and 1980s to pressure the Baathist regime to modify its internal policies were met with similar rebukes. Consequently, my research argues that policymakers in military supplier states must be cautious in using military aid as an instrument of diplomacy. In terms of Iraq's military imports, the strong international support of Baghdad during the 1980s does seem to have encouraged a perception amongst Baathist leaders that they could get away with using chemical weapons on opposing troops and their own civilians. However, the use or threat of an embargo to achieve a certain end (for example, to push for open elections) may only drive the recipient to request military aid from elsewhere. U.S. policymakers should therefore treat each military recipient on a case-by-case basis and combine their efforts with a pragmatic understanding of that particular country's political realities, rather than trying to tie military aid to abstract visions of Western-style democracy.

Further Research

Although Iraq's military build-up between 1968 and 1990 challenges conventional thinking on arms imports, the Iraqi case is not necessarily representative of the behaviour of all recipient states. Further analysis of recipients' decision-making is therefore suggested where there are good records. For example, a researcher may attempt to analyse the drivers of Israeli arms import policies during the 1950s and 1960s (including the switch from France to the United States becoming the primary military supplier) by looking at declassified government documents. Other important studies which are feasible and may be looked at include Iranian arms imports policies during the Shah-era, the drivers of Australian security cooperation with the

United States, and the impact of Tokyo's post-WWII arms imports on Japan's domestic and foreign policies. While getting access to recipient government archives is a difficult task given the secrecy of the information that is often associated with arms transfers, some of the recipients above are known for keeping relatively good archives. Furthermore, some governments declassify archival documents after 25 years. Conducting research that looks at the government archives of these or other recipient states can help us to understand better recipient-supplier relationships and what drives recipient states to pursue security cooperation in the first place.

CONCLUSIONS

Since 1990 Iraq has occupied international media coverage to an extent that only few others countries have. However, academics, journalists, and historians have focused primarily on the *decline* of Iraqi power: the military loss that the Iraqi armed forces suffered in 1991, the economic poverty that ensued as a result of international sanctions (1991-2003), and the increasing chaos and political instability that followed after the overthrow of the Baathist regime (2003-present.) If one were to look at the Iraqi armed forces in 2014, it would seem that Iraq is essentially in a similar position to that when the country was founded in 1920. Toby Dodge draws parallels between the British-trained Iraqi armed forces during the 1920s and the post-2003 U.S.-trained Iraqi military after 2003.[16] Similarly, Al-Marashi and Salama refer to the ISF as "mandate army redux."[17] Phebe Marr, one of the most prominent historians of Iraq, has commented that "historians and political analysts of modern Iraq have focused on two major

[16] Dodge, *Inventing Iraq,* 20.
[17] Al-Marashi and Salama, *Iraq's Armed Forces*, 201-224.

realities structuring Iraq's foreign policy -- the creation of the state by foreign powers and its continued subjection to foreign control and manipulation."[18]

Nevertheless, looking at the bookends of Iraqi history leads one to make an incorrect assumption: that in the nearly one hundred year period of its existence, Iraq was always a weak and dependent state. As the preceding chapters showed, nothing could be further from the truth. Lost in contemporary accounts of international politics is just how ambitious and unexpected the rise of Iraqi military, political, and economic power between 1968 and 1990 was. The opening of the SHC allows for an inside-look at how the Iraqi government achieved what it set out to do during that period. Because Iraq has become more reclusive in the period between 1990 and 2003, the SHC may also answer many questions that scholars and journalists had about the Iraqi government's behaviour in the period between the start of the sanctions and the 2003 invasion. Ultimately, the Baathist regime's attempt to wield influence on the same level as great powers failed: the year in which this research ends (1990) marks both the zenith of Iraqi military power under the Baath Party and the beginning of its rapid decline. But the complete history of post-Baathist Iraq, as with any young state in the international system, remains to be written.

[18] Marr, "Iraqi Foreign Policy," in Brown (editor), *Diplomacy in the Middle East*, 181.

APPENDIX

Excerpt from "Study Issued by the Special Office of the Iraqi Intelligence Services Regarding Factors that Determine the Priorities of IIS Work Outside Iraq."[19]

TOP SECRET

Issue Number : 1

Fifth Study
Review of Priorities in Extraterritorial
Intelligence Operations

It is known that good intelligence operations are the frontline defense to the security of the country. Successful counter-intelligence and defense measures must be subject to ranking priorities, so that the largest intelligence effort is allocated against the most dangerous enemy. This is on the one hand, but on the other hand, the proper allocation of intelligence effort requires that the passing of information goes side by side in an organizational fashion, so that the channels through which information is passed are short and flexible and that the points where the information is evaluated will produce effective decisions.

The priorities which we may have envisioned for the Intelligence Bureau's operations, the organizational unit's size, and the current form of passing information, are based on what is contained in the Bureau's operations studies and are as follows:

1. Intelligence Operation Tiers and their Selection Basis
   a. Tier I
      i. Neighboring States to Iraq, whether they are Arab or Foreign- the reason this is the first priority is: Their power is always a direct influence over

[TN: Paragraph continues on Document Page 8]

[19] SH-IISX-D-000-365. "Study issued by the Special Office of the Iraqi Intelligence Services regarding factors that determine the priorities of IIS work outside Iraq." (Jan 1986 to Jun 1986.)

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Iraq's national security, due to their conjoining geographical borders with the country, and because of their power over the control of Iraq's international air, sea, and land gateways.

ii. States and movements which declare outright hostility towards Iraq.

iii. Based on what is said above, the countries with top priority are:
   a. Iran, Israel, Syria, Libya, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the remaining Arab Gulf States, Jordan and the Palestine territories.
   b. Activities of Iraqis, outside of the country, who oppose the Iraqi Government.

b. Tier II

The Arab States not mentioned under Tier I- the intelligence concerns in these states are based on two fundamentals, which are:

i. The mutual impact between these countries' security and integrity against foreign extraterritorial aggressions and Iraq's national security in a framework of conjoining nationalistic security for the Arab states.

ii. The importance of curbing the effectiveness of those state systems and activities which declare hostilities towards Iraq from those Tier I countries in the Arab area of operations.

GLOSSARY

ACDA	Arms Control and Disarmament Agency
CDD	Iraqi Development Directorate
DCS	Direct Commercial Sales
DISAM	Defense Institute of Security Assistance Management
DSCA	Defense Security Cooperation Agency
ICP	Iraqi Communist Party
ISF	Iraqi Security Forces
KDP	Kurdistan Democratic Party
FMFP	Foreign Military Financing Program
FMP	Foreign Military Presence
FMS	Foreign Military Sales
GOI	Government of Iraq
GSID	Iraqi General Security Intelligence Directorate
GMID	Iraqi General Military Intelligence Directorate
SHC	Saddam Hussein Collection
IQAF	Iraqi Air Force
NASSR	NASSR State Establishment for Mechanical Industries
MIC	Military Industrialisation Commission
MIMI	Ministry of Industry and Military Industrialisation
RCC	Revolutionary Command Council
SHC	Saddam Hussein Collection
SIPRI	Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
SOTI	State Organisation for Technical Industries
SPC	Strategic Planning Committee

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Dr. Gawdat Bahgat, professor of National Security Affairs at the National Defense University's Near East South Asia Center for Strategic Study (November 20, 2012).

Professor Amatzia Baram, Professor Emeritus at the Department of the History of the Middle East and Director of the Centre for Iraq Studies at the University of Haifa, Israel (November 11, 2012).

Major General Falah Hassan, current Commanding General of the Iraqi Air Force and a Colonel during the Saddam Hussein era (January 16-17, 2014).

Major General Najim Abed al-Jabouri, served with Iraq's Air Defense Division during the Iran-Iraq War and the First Gulf War (November 19-20, 2012).

Dr. Sterling Jensen, former interpreter and senior advisor to General David Petraeus and Iraq expert (November 19-20, 2012).

BACKGROUND DISCUSSIONS

Dr. Kamal Field al-Basri, Founder and Director, Iraqi Institute for Economic Reform (March 19, 2013).

Ambassador Feisal al-Istrabadi, former Iraqi Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations (March 19, 2013).

Hayder al-Khoei, Centre for Academic Shi'a Studies (March 19, 2013).

Dr. Mowaffak al-Rubaie, former National Security Advisor and Member of Parliament, Iraq (June 26, 2012 and February 27-28, 2014).

Mohammad Sabah al-Salem al-Sabah, former Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kuwait (March 1, 2014).

Peter Harling, Project Director, Iraq, Lebanon and Syria and Senior Middle East and North Africa Adviser, International Crisis Group (February 28, 2014).

Dr. Safa al-Sheikh Hussein, Iraq's Current Deputy National Security Adviser and a former Brigadier General in the Iraqi Air Force (March 19, 2013).

Professor Bruce Jentleson, author of *With Friends Like These: Reagan, Bush, and Saddam, 1982-1990* (February 27, 2014).

Kamal Kirkuki, Speaker, Kurdistan Parliament, and Member of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, Kurdish Regional Government, Iraq (February 27, 2014).

Professor Kanan Makiya, Professor of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, Brandeis University (March 19, 2013).

Nawaf Obaid, Visiting Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs and counsellor to Prince Turki al-Faisal, former Saudi ambassador to the United States and Saudi Arabia's intelligence service (February 27, 2014).

Professor Emma Sky, former Political Advisor to U.S. General Ray Odierno in Iraq and former Governorate Coordinator of Kirkuk, Coalition Provisional Authority, Iraq (February 28, 2014).

Professor Gareth Stansfield, Al-Qasimi Chair of Arab Gulf Studies at the University of Exeter and former Senior Political Advisor to the United Nations Mission for Iraq (March 19, 2013).

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